LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY GRATTAN.

VOL. III.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

RT. HON. HENRY GRATTAN.

BY HIS SON,

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., M.P.

NEW EDITION,

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY GRATTAN.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Grattan's marriage with Miss Fitzgerald—Her family—Wonderful age of Catherine Fitzgerald, Countess of Desmond—Mrs. Grattan's character—They settle at Tinnehinch—Description of the Dargle—Letters of Mr. Daly, Levinge, and Lord Annaly, on the conduct of Lord Mansfield—Address of the Independent Dublin Volunteers to Mr. Grattan on the Act of the Renunciation—His spirited and constitutional reply—Rupture between him and the volunteers—Loss of popularity—Irish case in the English courts decided by Lord Mansfield—His character.

On Mr. Grattan's return from abroad, he intermarried with Miss Henrietta Fitzgerald, who, on her father's side, was descended from the Desmond family. The statement respecting the celebrated and singular lady who founded the family, was supplied by Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry. "Catherine Fitzgerald, (the long-lived) Countess of Desmond, was supposed to be the great ancestress of all the branches of the Fitz-

gerald family, (on their separation from Offalie, created Kildare,) and it was said, was the great-grandmother of Geraldine, the love of Surrey. This illustrious person was born about the year 1464—was married in the reign of Edward IV.—lived during the entire reigns of Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and died in the latter end of the reign of James I., at the great age of, as was generally supposed, 162 years. It is historically ascertained that she lived to the age of 150,* as some family documents prove that she survived a trust of 99 years raised to support her jointure, and on its failure was said to have gone to Queen Elizabeth to ask for an allowance in lieu thereof:—therefore, supposing her married at the age of 18 or 20, it accounts for her living to an extraordinary age. Her unmarried name was supposed to have been O'Conor, and she was interred in the royal vaults of this family.

* Bacon, in his Novum Organum, in the History of Life and Death, alludes to this individual; he says,

"The Irish, especially the *Wild* Irish, even at this day, live very long. Certainly they report that within these few years the Countess of Desmond lived to 140 years of age, and had teeth three times." He adds, "Now the Irish have a fashion to chafe, and as it were, *to baste themselves with salt butter against the fire!*" Vol. xiv. p. 375.

This may have been the practice to procure long life in Lord Bacon's time, but it does not appear to have been hereditary in any of the branches of the Countess's family, though some of them, in the *vulgar acceptation* of the phrase, often underwent that manual application, but from the foes rather than the friends of that illustrious house.

Horace Walpole in his Works, records from her that Shakespeare was guilty of historical inaccuracy in describing Richard III. as deformed and crook-backed, as she gave a very different and a flattering account of his symmetry. A copy of her picture, painted on wood, is in the possession of the Herbert family of Muckruss (Killarney). The original picture was for some time lost; but it was found at last, and is now in the collection of Lansdowne House.*

On the mother's side, Mrs. Grattan was descended from the family of the Stevensons of the county of Down. Her father, who had been in the army, having died young, his widow intermarried with Mr. Moore, brother to Lord Drogheda. Her daughter was then entrusted to the care of her grandmother, Mrs. Stevenson, a spirited and independent lady, who took an active part in the politics of the county of Down, her husband

* There is a portrait of this lady in the Standard Closet of Windsor, as appears in a catalogue of the pictures by Dr. Derham. This celebrated lady, who lived at Inchiquin, in Munster, was well known to Sir Walter Raleigh. She married in the reign of Edward IV., when she danced with Richard, Duke of Gloucester. She held her jointure from all the Earls of Desmond since that time, and was as remarkable for her sprightliness as for her age. It is probable that her dancing days were not over when a century of her life had elapsed. Certain it is that, after she had stood the shock of 140 years, she went from Bristol to London to solicit some relief from the court, as she had long been very poor from the ruin of the house of Desmond by an attainder. According to Sir Wm. Temple, she died some years above 140; she was not living in 1614, when Sir W. Raleigh published his history.— *Graigner's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 6.

being the patron of the borough of Killyleagh.* On the death of her grandfather, Miss Fitzgerald came to Dublin, where she was greatly admired, both for her personal charms and her mental accomplishments. But these were the least of her attractions: to the graces of a handsome person, a commanding air and figure, she united a rectitude of mind, a purity of thought, a dignity of manner, and a disposition the most amiable and benign; the sweetness of her voice and that of her temper were singularly engaging. She was full of virtue, charity, and piety, and was respected, admired, and beloved by all who knew her. Religion (that heavenly consolation to the afflicted) produced in her a second existence; and when oppressed by illness, and for 26 years unable to walk, she bore the severest bodily pain with a serenity of temper and a calmness of mind that never was soured, and could scarcely be ruffled: the submissive courage she displayed rendered her disposition more amiable and more gentle, and almost overcame the severe trials sent by Providence. Such is the reward of spotless

* This individual seems to have acted well, if any opinion can be formed from the inscription on his wife's tomb-stone:—"Ann Stevenson, widow of the late John Stevenson, of Killyleagh, who attended his duty as Representative in Parliament 47 years, *during which time he never gave a vote against the interest of his country.*" One of this lady's sisters married Sir William Hawkins, the other Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Blackwood; the latter was created Lady Dufferin at the Union. The public spirited conduct of her husband towards Lord Castlereagh on that occasion will appear hereafter.

integrity—such the blessings of the heart that knows no guile. Her bodily infirmity towards the close of her life, was sustained as nobly as the mental afflictions in the early part; and her fortitude in the trying scenes she passed through at the periods of 1798 and 1800, (the insurrection and Union,) did credit alike to her head and her heart. Her feelings and sentiments on these sad events were worthy of him to whom she was allied, and such as would have done honour to a Greek or Roman matron.

But even at this period Mr. Grattan was doomed to pass through the severest trial, and undergo the most painful scenes. Just before the marriage, Miss Fitzgerald was suddenly seized by an illness which the Faculty pronounced to be fatal, and she was given over by the chief physicians in Dublin. So trying a circumstance, as may well be conceived, drove Mr. Grattan almost to despair. However, he showed his character, even at this moment, and took a decided course: his friend Broome was acquainted with a Mr. Lindsay, an army surgeon, bold and skilful, but not then known in his profession. To him Mr. Grattan had recourse. He led him to the room of the dying patient, and desired him to go in and "*behold the last remains of departing beauty.*" Though the case was desperate, Lindsay, however, did not despair; he tried a new, and what was then consi-

dered a bold experiment; he administered strong doses of quicksilver, by which he restored her to life, and thereby established himself in his profession.

After his marriage, Mr. Grattan turned his steps to that part of the country which he had visited in his infancy, and on which he seemed to have rivetted his affection,—the vale of Tinnehinch. This, as well as Celbridge, had been one of his early and favourite retreats. With his friend Broome he used to repair to the county of Wicklow, where, after many long and romantic rambles in the glens of the neighbourhood, they returned at night to the little inn, which then lay at the foot of the hill. In the front of this flows the river which runs from Powerscourt waterfall to the Dargle, and thence to the sea: just at this spot a bridge crosses the stream, and behind it rises the mountain called the Sugar Loaf. In describing this scene in one of his early letters, he says:—"I have not forgotten the romantic valley—I look on it with an eye of forecast—it may be the recreation of an active life, or the retreat of an obscure one, or the romantic residence of philosophical friendship."

With a view of purchasing this place, which he did shortly afterwards, he came to Wingfield, a country seat in the neighbourhood. The description of the scenery hereabouts is so well given by Arthur Young, in his Tour in Ireland,

that even now it will be easily recognized by all who have visited the county of Wicklow, and it has accordingly been introduced, not less on account of its beauty than its accuracy.

"1776, July 16.—Took my leave of General Cunningham,* and went through the glen of the Downs on my way to Powerscourt. The glen is a pass between two vast ridges of mountains covered with wood, which have a very noble effect; the vale is no wider than to admit the road, a small gurgling river almost by its side, and narrow slips of rocky and shrubby ground, which parts them. In the front all escape seems denied by an immense conical mountain,† which rises out of the glen, and seems to fill it up. The scenery is of a most magnificent character. On the top of the ridge, to the right, Mr. La Touche‡ has a banqueting room. Passing from this sublime scene, the road leads through cheerful grounds, all under corn, rising and falling to the eye, and then to a vale of charming verdure broken into enclosures, and bounded by two rocky mountains;§ distant, darker mountains filling up the scene in front. This whole ride is interesting, for within a mile and a half of Tinnyhinch (the inn to which I was directed), you come to a delicious

* Then residing at Newtown Mount Kennedy.

† Sugar-loaf.

‡ The widow of Mr. Peter Latouche still lives, a model for all who follow in the path of virtue, and practise deeds of charity.

§ The Great and Little Sugar-Loaf.

view on the right, a small vale opening to the sea, bounded by mountains,* whose dark shade forms a perfect contrast to the extreme beauty and lively verdure of the lower scene, consisting of gently swelling lawns† rising from each other, with groups of trees between, and the whole so prettily scattered with white farms, as to add every idea of cheerfulness.

"Kept on towards Powerscourt, which presently came in view from the edge of a declivity.‡ You look full upon the house, which appears to be in the most beautiful situation in the world: on the side of a mountain,§ half way between its bare top and an irriguous vale at its foot. In front, and spreading among woods on either side, is a lawn, whose surface is beautifully varied in gentle declivities, hanging to a winding river.

"Lowering the hill, the scenery is yet more agreeable: the near inclosures are margined with trees through whose open branches are seen whole fields of the most lively verdure; the trees gather into groups, and the lawn swells into gentle inequalities, while the river winding beneath, renders the whole truly pleasing.

* Shangana and Killiney Mountains.

† Wingfield and Old Connaught — the latter the residence of Lord Chancellor Plunkett—lie in that direction.

‡ Newtown-hill.

§ The Anna Moulins on one side, Glen Cree and the mountains over Lough Bray, in the rear, where the romantic cottage of Sir Philip Crampton is situated.

"Breakfasted at the inn at Tinnyhinch, and then drove to the park to see the waterfall. The park* itself is fine; you enter it between two vast masses of mountain, covered with wood, forming a vale scattered with trees, through which flows a river on a broken rocky channel. You follow this vale till it is lost in a most uncommon manner: the ridges of mountain† closing, form one great amphitheatre of wood, from the top of which, at the height of many hundred feet, bursts the water from a rock, and tumbling down the side of a very large one, forms a scene singularly beautiful. At the bottom is a spot of velvet turf, from which rises a clump of oaks, and through their stems, branches, and leaves, the falling water is seen as a back ground, with an effect more picturesque than can well be imagined. These few trees, and this little lawn,‡ give the finishing to the scene. The water falls behind some large fragments of rock, and turns to the left down a stony channel, under the shade of a wood.

"Returning to Tinnyhinch, I went to Inniskerry, and gained by this detour, in my return to go to the Dargle, a beautiful view which I should otherwise have lost. The road runs on the edge of a declivity from whence there is a most pleasing

* Lord Powerscourt's deer-park.

† The Dowse Mountain, and the War Hill.

‡ Here stood the banqueting-room, where parties were permitted to dine.

prospect of the river's course through the vale and the wood of Power's Court, which here appear in large masses of dark shade, and the whole bounded by mountains. A turn to the left, into the private road that leads to the Dargle, presently gives a specimen of what is to be expected by a romantic glen of wood, where the high lands almost lock into each other,* and leave scarce a passage for the river at bottom, which rages as if with difficulty forcing its way. It is topped by a high mountain, and in front you catch a beautiful plat of inclosures bounded by the sea.

"Enter the Dargle, which is the name of a glen near a mile long. Come presently to one of the finest ranges of wood I have any where seen: it is a narrow glen or vale formed by the sides of two opposite mountains, the whole thickly spread with oak-wood to the bottom (and the depth is immense); it is narrowed to the mere channel of the river, which rather tumbles from rock to rock than runs. The extent of wood that hangs to the eye in every direction is great; the depth of the precipice on which you stand is immense, which, with the roar of the water at bottom, forms a scene truly interesting.

"In less than a quarter of a mile the road pass-

* This spot realises the description of the poet:—

Est locus Italiæ in medio—sub montibus altis
Nobilis, et fama multis memoratus in oris
Amsancti valles, densis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
Dat sonitum saxis et torto vortice torrens.

ing through a wood leads to another point of view to the right. It is the crown of a vast projecting rock from which you look down a precipice absolutely perpendicular, and many hundred feet deep,* upon the torrent at the bottom, which finds its noisy way over large fragments of rock. The point of view is a great projection of the mountain on this side, answered by a concave of the opposite, so that you command the glen both to the right and left: it exhibits on both immense sheets of forest, which have a most magnificent appearance. Beyond the wood to the right are some inclosures hanging on the side of a hill, crowned by a mountain.

"I knew not how to leave so interesting a spot. The impressions raised by it are strong:—the solemnity of such an extent of wood, unbroken by any intervening objects, and the whole hanging over declivities, is alone great; but to this, the addition of a constant roar of falling water, either quite hid, or so far below as to be seen but obscurely, united to make those impressions stronger. No contradictory emotions are raised—no ill judged temples appear to *enliven* a scene that is gloomy rather than gay. Falling or moving water is a lively object; but this being obscure, the noise operates differently.

* *The Lover's Leap;* so called from a fable of some victim to an ill-requited passion, who precipitated himself in a fit of despair to the bottom.

"Following the road a little further, there is another bold, rocky projection, from which also there is a double view to the right and left; in front so immense a sweep of hanging wood, that a nobler scene can hardly be imagined: the river as before at the bottom of the precipice, which is so steep, and the depth so great, as to be quite fearful to look down. This horrid precipice, the pointed bleak mountains in view, with the roar of the water, all conspire to raise one great emotion of the sublime.

"You advance scarcely twenty yards before a pretty scene opens on the left—a distant landscape of enclosures, with a river winding between the hills to the sea.* Passing to the right, fresh scenes of wood appear: half way from the bottom one different from the precedent is seen; you are almost inclosed in wood; and look to the right, through some low oaks on the opposite banks of wood, with an edging of trees, through which the sky is seen; which, added to an uncommon elegance in the outline of the hill, has a most pleasing effect. Winding down to a thatched bench† on a rocky point, you look upon an uncommon scene. Immediately beneath is a vast chasm in the rock, which seems torn asunder to let the torrent through, that comes tumbling over a rocky bed far

* Where the village of Bray is now situated.

† Here still remains the moss-house constructed by the third Earl of Powerscourt, where ingress was allowed to all visitors or travellers.

sunk in a channel embosomed in wood. Above is a range of gloomy obscure woods, which half overshadow it, and rising to a vast height, exclude every object. To the left the water rolls away over broken rocks: a scene truly romantic.

"Followed the path: it led me to the water's edge at the bottom of the glen, where is a new scene in which not a single circumstance hurts the principal character. In a hollow formed of rock and wood (every object excluded but those and water) the torrent breaks forth from fragments of rock, and tumbles through the chasm, rocks bulging over it as if ready to fall into the channel, and stop the impetuous water. The shade is so thick as to exclude the heavens—all is retired and gloomy—a brown horror breathing over the whole. It is a spot for melancholy to muse in."

Such was the character of the place that Mr. Grattan selected for his abode; these lovely spots he mused in when melancholy—he rejoiced in when gay; here he often trod, meditating on his country's wrong—her long dreary night of darkness and oppression; and here he first beheld the bright transient light of her redemption and her glory. Here too, in the moments of grief, he wept over her divisions and her downfall. How often have I beheld the tear glistening in his eye, as he strode along her paths, engrossed with the thoughts of some of his speeches, and stamping on the soil as if he would crush her enemies!—

'Twas here he received the friends of his country, of his youth, of his age; and those whose eyes may glance perhaps across these pages, can well remember the urbanity with which they were welcomed—the warm reception that every friend to freedom met with; and even those who differed in politics were greeted with an hospitality and address, that almost seemed to have for its object, to make a convert to honest principle and public virtue, without offending their prejudices or their party.

The following letters may prove not uninteresting: they allude to the politics of the day. The passage in Mr. Levinge's letter, wherein he speaks of "*un-Colonelling*" Mr. Grattan, refers to the Dublin volunteers, of which Mr. Flood was second in command. After Mr. Grattan's reply to that body, they proceeded to choose a commander for the ensuing year; and though there was a diversity of opinion, and a division, the majority were in favour of Mr. Grattan, and he was re-elected; but after he had voted in 1783, for keeping up the usual quota of troops, and against Mr. Flood's motion for retrenchment, the corps elected another officer to command them in his place.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Wingfield, 12th Dec., 1782.

My Dear Broome;

I got your letter. Your man called on me when I was in the carriage, but I was posting out of town, and could not

stop. I will send a car for the things on Saturday; in the meantime, I wish they were on Friday examined, and sent to your house, where I will send the car; perhaps you could come down on Saturday and stay Sunday. There are three bedchambers for company, two of them unoccupied. We dine at half an hour after four—breakfast not too early for you, and go to bed before eleven—have tea,—eggs, very good—bread and butter:—are within a quarter of an hour of the Dargle, close to a mountain-walk; have good sauntering grounds, backgammon table, Sankey* 25 claret; and in short, you must come.

I mean to stay here as long as I can; I found myself relapsing in Dublin, and have received such a number of visits there, that I must keep out of it, as a debtor must avoid the residence of creditors whom he cannot pay.

I find by the accounts, that peace is likely; that will give a new direction to the politicians here. I hope England may not suppose that the recantation of several bodies in this kingdom, was the act of the nation. I thank you for the horse; if I have not already gotten another one, I shall trouble you for yours. The coach-horses do extremely well; I wish I had two more to match them.

Yours, most sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Wingfield, near Bray, 15th Dec. 1782.

MY DEAR BROOME;

MY wife gives her compliments to you; we will expect you at Christmas. I wish to consult about country projects—I think I'll settle somewhere hereabouts.

* A well known Dublin wine merchant, the age of whose claret seems set down at 25 years.

There is nobody to be here at Christmas except my wife's brother*—whom you will like, and who begs that I should present his compliments to you. Yours sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. LEVINGE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Calverston, Dec. 16th, 1782.

DEAR GRATTAN;

AMONG the various articles of intelligence, which the successor of the communicative Saunders† gives the public, none could afford your friends at this place so much pleasure, as his announcing, that Henry Grattan was married to Miss Fitzgerald. We heartily congratulate you upon the occasion, and sincerely wish you every degree of felicity in that state, of which your judicious choice of, and alliance with, so amiable a young lady, holds out more than a reasonable prospect. I had much satisfaction in hearing from your uncle the Dean,‡ that you have firmly established your health, by your late jaunt to Spa. I was happy in reading an address from your late military associates, who have gone far in the spirit of colonelling or uncolonelling, I know not which their genius is the stronger for. *I admire your manner of answering fools according to their folly, and which you have effectually done; people generally form their notions of parties by their leaders.*

The chairman of your band of instructors hath learned his art of politics, under my old friend George Faulk-

* Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, of the 29th regiment, the best tempered and most obliging individual; he resided during several years in Italy, and many of our modern travellers are much indebted to him for the personal kindness he shewed them, and the unexpected civilities received from him.

† A Dublin newspaper.

‡ Dean Marley, afterwards Bishop of Waterford.

ner,* to whom he was an apprentice, among other *lighter studies.* The interest of princes and the federal rights of nations were his principal forte, to which his journal yields an ample testimony. The disciple hath had many advantages over his master: the *amor patriæ* he can imbibe from Lord Beauchamp; obtain consistency of conduct, or a sufficient apology for the want of it, from Flood; national treaties he may be taught to comment upon, or explain away, by that most respectable body the Attornies' Corps. I request that you will be so good as to make the respectable compliments, as well as the kindest wishes, of this family acceptable to Mrs. Grattan. I am, my dear Sir,

Very affectionately and faithfully yours,

RICHARD LEVINGE.

MR. DALY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Dunsandle, Dec. 15*th*, 1782.

MY DEAR HARRY,

I must throw my congratulations in amongst a thousand others, which, I dare say, you receive every day, and wish you joy and happiness most sincerely;—you seem, indeed, to have taken sufficient care to secure an ample share of both.

It is most certainly unmerciful to take up your time at present, but I can't help sliding a few words of politics in by way of relaxation, after your intense application to business. Thank God! we are now going to have peace. I firmly believe it to be the only event that can settle this country in a tolerable state of composure. We have reaped the benefits of having armed the people, and now I hope we shall avoid the inconveniences of it. Our volunteers here were ready to determine any question in the whole

* The proprietor of a Dublin newspaper.

circle of sciences that should be proposed to them, and to burn every unfortunate person that doubted their infallibility. I am very glad to hear that a spirited requisition has been sent over, about Lord Mansfield's conduct. Pray what effect do you suppose, or do you hear, the peace is likely to have on that affair, and the resolution which was transmitted to the English Cabinet?

If they are really wise, they will do that, as an act of favour now, which some time ago might have been construed into an act of humiliation. At all events, I depend upon the common sense of any Ministry that may be uppermost in England, not to attack us again, even if they were sure we should submit for the present. After what has happened, *surely no set of men could be so desperate, as to leave any of the remaining parts of the Empire dissatisfied, and inclined to take advantage of the weakness of Great Britain, upon any future hostilities,* and that without a single motive that can possibly be invented. I will trespass upon you no longer now; when you have nothing else to do, let me hear from you, and believe me to be ever, Yours affectionately,

DENIS DALY.

P.S. Lady Farnham begs that you will remember, *when you are at leisure,* that you promised to look out for a place for her in Wicklow.

LORD ANNALY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Tennelick, 24th Dec. 1782.

MY DEAR GRATTAN,

Now do not think I am going to give you a formal invitation, &c. to Tennelick—I know how to prefer my friends' happiness to my own better than to do so—but I

am going to mention to you some philosophic remarks, which do you apply, and act accordingly. Have you never observed that nature contributes to the happiness of mankind, by contrasting one thing against another?—for instance, the splendour of the sun, and the beauty of a fine summer's day, are succeeded by the darkness and quiet of the night; and that not only prevents our being overpowered by too long a continuance of pleasure, but also adds considerably to the lustre of the succeeding morning. Many other instances might be added. I have been told that some men (and wise ones too), even in the zenith of their happiness, have retired, for some time, to enjoy the conversation of the most rigid and severe of all relations.

If these considerations should have any weight with you, Tennelick is your only place. Fitzgibbon will (I'll venture to say for him) thoroughly contrast the complacency you enjoy at present, and prove to you, that a simple repeal of a statute does not amount to the renunciation of a right. Henn,* especially at cards and breakfast (when he spills the chocolate), will convince you that a little peevishness gives a zest to conversation; and the Right Honourable Mr. Cuffe† will entertain you with some curious *Petites Histoires*, that I believe you have not been used to for some time. If you approve of this plan, we shall be exceedingly glad to see you, either mounted on your grey charger, attended by some worthy successor of my friend Matts,‡—or (if you affect the dignity of a Colonel of the Independents §) drawn by four bad horses in a hired post-chaise. I have not the honour of being known to Mrs. Grattan, which I much long for, both as she is your wife,

* Judge Henn.

† Afterwards Tyrawly, a gay and lively character, and a great friend of Mr. Grattan.

‡ His old servant.

§ Dublin Volunteers.

and as I never remember any body so universally well spoken of. She will very much oblige me, in accepting my best respects and compliments; and you will only do me justice in believing that I am, with great truth and regard,

My dear Grattan, most affectionately yours,

ANNALY.*

Sankey and I are tête-à-tête, and drinking Mrs. Grattan's and your health.

Mr. Grattan was not, however, long allowed to remain tranquil in the country, or enjoy domestic repose, apart from the cares and the vexation of politics. He commanded the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers, of which Mr. Flood was Lieut.-Colonel, and differing in opinion from him, they presented the following address, expressive of their sentiments on the question which had been raised by Mr. Flood.

At a meeting of the Corps, December 1st, 1782, Captain Henry Whitestone in the chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to our Colonel, Henry Grattan, Esq.—

* Gore (Lord Annaly) had been an early friend of Mr. Grattan, who visited him frequently in his younger days at his residence in the county of Longford, where the sports of the field and fox-hunting were the fashionable amusements. This once hospitable place and splendid mansion, are now dilapidated, and like many other Irish domains, live only in the recollection of what their former grandeur was. No vestige of the house remains. The estate was purchased by the late Mr. Luke White, that model of industry, sterling sense, and worth.

TO COLONEL HENRY GRATTAN.

The Address of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers.

SIR,

An unsuspecting and liberal confidence, natural to the people of Ireland, betrayed this Corps into a belief of sincerity in the intention of Great Britain, and they accordingly expressed, by a public resolve, their satisfaction at the Repeal of an English Declaratory Law; a law enacted during an intoxication of power against a country then depressed by the tyranny of its usurpers, and bleeding in consequence of its own unhappy intestine division.

But the experience of ages, and many recent alarming circumstances, have awakened fears, which must naturally extend to the breasts of all who wish unequivocal precision established in place of present uncertainty, lest the liberties of this country, heretofore wantonly trampled on, may at a future period be garbled or explained away, by corrupt or chimerical servants of the crown.

We feel the time now arrived, when silence becomes criminal, after a Committee, chosen from the best informed body in this nation, the Lawyers' Corps, have declared our present security inadequate; with whose report, and the two following Resolutions of that Corps, we most perfectly agree:—

"That a voluntary and express renunciation on the part of Great Britain, of all claim of right to bind Ireland, either externally or internally, would, in our opinion, give great satisfaction to this country, and render the union between the two kingdoms permanent and indissoluble.

"That an Act of the Irish Parliament, ascertaining and securing the Rights of this country, is, in our opinion, necessary for the establishment of its liberties."

Because their very great knowledge of the laws, and in these points their indefatigable zeal and researches, have placed the situation of public affairs in the clearest point of view.

Therefore, we earnestly wish these our opinions, in which we find ourselves supported by all virtuous Irishmen, may meet your hearty concurrence and strenuous support, to establish on a secure and lasting foundation, the rights and liberties of this much injured country, as we are determined at the risk of everything dear to us, to exert all constitutional means to transmit them to posterity inviolate.

HENRY WHITESTONE, Chairman.

The answer which Mr. Grattan gave was, perhaps, one of the best conceived and most dignified of his productions; liberal in its sentiments, bold and energetic in its style, it discovers the consistent manliness of an honest and determined character. He made the principles of honour the basis of his conduct, and he had the spirit and courage to conform his actions to the rules he had laid down. He evinced no crouching to popular sentiment, no disrespect to his opposers, no contempt for their regard: he shewed himself anxious to retain the applause of the people, provided his virtue would allow him; but rather than degrade himself by unworthy acquiescence he was prepared to resign it. His object was independence, the real test of freedom, and the best associate of virtue. What he, in his reply, maintained for him-

self, he had before asserted for his country. Ireland, by his means and upon his principles, had become independent, and upon these principles alone, did he wish for freedom for himself, or pursue it for others. He could not bear a doubt to be cast upon his own sincerity, or an insinuation against his honour; and, acting from these feelings, he would not humiliate any party, whether English or Irish, by irritating jealousy or unmanly suspicion. The following was his reply:

TO THE INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

GENTLEMEN,

I was sorry that your Address should have been published before it was presented, because I do not wish to appear tardy to respect your opinions, or to disclose mine.

I applauded the liberal confidence which you reposed in the sincerity of the British nation; I hope she may long continue to deserve, and you to entertain, that just and necessary sentiment.

I agree with you that the 6th of George I. was passed when we were depressed by the "intoxication of power, and weakened by intestine divisions." There was at that time in the stamina of the community a radical weakness; we had taken precautions against our own strength and liberty, by the emaciating cruelty of barbarous laws, and we felt in our own bondage the natural returns of our own tyranny. Fortunately we have discovered the error; it was your policy, and my decided opinion, to adopt the Catholic body. I conceived it to be a sacred truth, and written as it were in the tables of Fate, *that the Irish Protestant should never be free until the Irish Catholic*

ceased to be a slave." By the charter of toleration those intestine divisions which you speak of have ceased, and with them the domination of Great Britain has departed.

The Parliament of Ireland has asserted its legislative independency, the Parliament of Great Britain has acknowledged it, fully acknowledged it: I speak, warranted by the record of the proceedings, and by the almost unanimous declarations of both Houses of Parliament: I speak the legal language and expressed opinion of the most eminent men of the bar, and I might add, legal personages still more high and authoritative.

In this conviction, and with this authority, you will not suppose that I shall subscribe to the resolutions, to which you have lately acceded. A member of one House of Parliament, and attached to the privileges of both, and to the Parliamentary constitution of Ireland, I do not see that emergency, which should induce, or warrant us to refer, revise and contradict a resolution of the House of Commons, and, under colour of fortifying the independency of our Parliament, supersede its authority.

I concur with you in every personal compliment to the seven gentlemen who framed the report you speak of; but when I differ from you, it is not surprising that I should have no scruple to differ from them.

I know of no circumstance, except one, which has recently happened, to alarm you: the entertaining and deciding by the Court of King's Bench, in England, an Irish cause, is, no doubt, a very great infringement. You do not imagine that I mean to rest under it; but I shall never suppose such a measure to be the act of England, unless her Parliament shall hesitate to do it away in a manner the most clear, comprehensive, and satisfactory.

I have given you my sincere opinion; I have explicitly differed from you, with a regard for the corps, and an

affection for the men who compose it. The natural result of my dissent is the ceasing of my command. I do not resign, lest peremptory resignation should appear an act of unmanly offence; in the succession of officers you have an opportunity to indulge the range of your disposition; invited to the command without solicitation, I shall render back the honour without the emotions of resentment, or the affectation of indifference.

In the warm hours of your panegyric I made every allowance for a sanguine disposition; in the present hour, when the same disposition may go in the other direction, I shall make the same allowance.

There is a final justice in public opinion, on which I do not fear to stand. I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your faithful and humble servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

The case which Mr. Grattan here alludes to, and which had been decided by Lord Mansfield in the English courts, had occasioned much apprehension in Ireland; but it appears fully explained in the letters to Mr. Grattan. The charge against Lord Mansfield was not altogether well founded. He had formerly opposed the rights of Ireland; but in this instance, he acted probably without any intentional hostility. The Irish cause was of old standing in his court, and he disposed of it, as a matter of course; yet he certainly would have shewn a greater regard for the Constitution of Ireland if he had declined to entertain it. But how could it be supposed that he should shew any regard for the Constitution of another country, when

he had shewn so little for that of his own? He was a son of Scotland, and had been a rebel,* when he opposed, and became a slave, when he supported, the administration. He possessed a fine understanding, but a mean disposition—was an able man, but not a great one—an ornamental speaker, and a subtle reasoner;—with a narrow mind—a *hard* voice—no force—some persuasion—and a semblance of dignity—timid—vain—and frivolous—he was haunted by little feelings. The day of difficulty would have walked over him; but in corrupt tranquillity he found riches and honour.

Lord Mansfield was brought into parliament to oppose Lord Chatham, and fled from his antagonist with a whole army of figures. In his judicial capacity he was not without merit; and, when a question was between subject and subject, without involving any principles of slavery, (to which he had a partiality,) he was equitable. On other occasions, he felt a bias to power, stole into the law a number of arbitrary doctrines, and *made war upon the trial by jury*. In the case of Wilkes he was afraid; and when the question of outlawry was argued, he spoke against it, and made an oratorical display, declaring he had discovered a point which induced him to alter his mind,—that it had escaped him before, and that it led him to reverse the outlawry. The fact was, that the people took

* Junius says he drank the Pretender's health upon his knees. This was denied, but again asserted.

part with Wilkes; Westminster Hall was crowded to excess, and Lord Mansfield was afraid: he was a timid tyrant. With perfect truth it may be said, that he would have been content with an imperial government, and have rested satisfied with being a *Prætor*, and having the semblance of liberty. He ever cringed to power;—a slave to the court, an enemy to the people, all his judgments leaned against liberty;—he never gained a point for the freedom of the country, and opposed many;—his idea and his expression was that, "*he must yield* to the king, for that the American question was his *hobby-horse*." But it was a horse, *unde altior esset casus*.

The vigour of Lord Mansfield's eloquence was weakened by the craft of his profession, which begot subtlety, and by the timid disingenuousness of his heart, which did not permit him to throw out his mind with honesty; a specious—a false—a pleasing—an accomplished, and a mischievous citizen:—

> He seemed
> For dignity composed, and high exploit;
> But all was false and hollow.

CHAPTER II.

Public sentiment in Ireland—Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley—Acquaintance with Mr. Grattan—His character—His letter to Mr. Grattan on the English ministry, and on Lord Mansfield's conduct Mr. Flood and Lord Shelburne—Mr. Fitzpatrick's letter to Mr. Ogle respecting the judicial supremacy of Ireland—The conduct of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox—Character of Mr. Ogle—His poetry—Mr. Stewart's letter to Mr. Grattan, respecting Lord Mansfield—Report of the debate on the Renunciation Bill in the English House of Commons, taken by Lord Mornington—His letter to Mr. Grattan—Note as to Lord Bellamont—Mr. Fitzpatrick to Mr. Grattan respecting the repeal of the 6th George I., and Mr. Flood and Lord Beauchamp's conduct—State of parties in Ireland—Efforts to render the Volunteers discontented—Violence of the press.

The rupture between Mr. Grattan and the volunteers was most unfortunate for Ireland; it filled the minds of the people with doubt; it sowed in the breast of the Irish a distrust of their staunchest friends; it injured the character of the nation by creating a national quarrel about a mere quibble; an argument that would have done little credit even to a session-court, was magnified for party purposes into the greatest importance, and when the bubble burst it was nothing; and matters, both as to constitution and security, stood after the English act of Renunciation (as it was called), just as before.

In England, the effect produced was incalculable; it injured Ireland severely, it shewed

the weakness of those men, and of that public mind, that could suffer itself to be thus led astray, and gave to a cunning minister an insight into the mode of deceiving a people who could so completely deceive themselves.

Mr. Grattan felt the change in the popular feeling with much concern, not merely as regarded himself, but as regarded others, their character and that of the country; but conscious of supporting the authority of Parliament, and the rights of Ireland, he viewed the displeasure of his fellow-citizens with respectful indifference; he had done them too much service to be their sycophant. His object was the Parliamentary Constitution of his country. The volunteers were the means, and he was above any base mixture and alliance with the mob; he relied upon the steady interposition of a strenuous and respectable commonalty, and calmly resigned himself to the loss of popularity. To have been instrumental in recovering the rights of his country was his peculiar good fortune; to have lost the affections of some part of his fellow-citizens was a common calamity—one that is to be explained in the history of every free people, and that is implanted in the nature of man.

Nor is Mr. Grattan's conduct to be judged from the publications of the day, or the Resolutions of the Volunteers, or what a few angry men said of him. It is to be collected from the opinion of other nations, and calmer times, and the impartial collected

sense of history—that great umpire, History;—it is that which condemns to infamy, or conveys to fame; which lives, when nations, like the individuals, are dead, and adjudges every transaction without frantic praise or frantic censure. The character of Mr. Grattan did not depend on the breath of the loudest of his fellow-citizens, any more than his salvation; both depended on himself, and were independent of them. Here he could stand against a legion, and a legion could not stand against him: their words were as chaff before the wind; their fury, the anger of a child. Fame is not the breath of a populace, nor the shout of a mob, but the gift of Providence to great actions; and the tongues of men are involuntary organs of a superior breath, and a posthumous justice.

Mr. Grattan's case was not singular; and Ireland is not the only nation that afforded such an example of wavering virtue and popular mutability. What has happened in other countries, or other times, ancient as well as modern? See men first idolized for their virtues—then banished—and then established in the opinion of the world. See Fame sitting on the tombs of martyrs, whom their fellow-countrymen, in a gust of popular frenzy, have murdered. The mixed forms of the British Constitution gave a personal security, as well as a political strength against sudden impulses, and made it *not capital* for a patriot to save his country. But if the Athenian government had ac-

companied the popular frenzy of the day, and been established in Ireland, Mr. Grattan would, perhaps, have been forced to go to America, and have beheld God in a greater instance of his power; but living in a mixed government, he found it otherwise, and was indebted perhaps to the Constitution he helped to restore, not only for his fortune but for his protection;* and if he lost the confidence of any portion of his fellow-citizens, it may be said, that they were not tired of him until they had become tired of the Constitution, and till at their meetings, they resolved it to be an intolerable grievance,† and shewed nearly as much impatience of liberty as before they had of bondage.

But this is not a singular case: nations, like individuals, require long experience before they acquire wisdom. In England, Charles I. was beheaded because he invaded the liberties of the people; and Charles II. was restored without a single stipulation on their behalf.

The decision of Lord Mansfield, however, excited considerable apprehension in Mr. Grattan's mind, as appears from his reply to the address before mentioned; and it induced an early friend of his and a sincere admirer to write to him on the subject. This was Lord Mornington, (afterwards Marquess Wellesley,) the celebrated conqueror of India. He was at this time a member of the

* He was shortly after waylaid by a mob.

† Meetings and Resolutions of the Delegates to hold a convention in 1783.

Irish House of Lords; he had taken part with the people, and was chosen Colonel of the Trim Volunteers, in the county of Meath, in 1782. He belonged to a singular family;* and he was a man of considerable talents, vast ideas, princely habits, and daring enterprise. He was not fond of much trouble, but he was able to guide the helm of the state in India, and ruled there with unlimited dominion.

The Marquess Wellesley was a man of taste and literature, and an excellent classical scholar; his poetic compositions, and his Latin elegiacs, even to his latest days, were chaste, elegant and correct. His eloquence was fervid and impassioned; he was a good speaker, and was possessed of considerable powers of oratory; his manner was rather theatrical, full of fire, displaying a latent and rapid intellect, and a vigorous mind. In a word, he was so clever a man as to be almost a great one.

His celebrated speech in favour of the war against France in 1794 lasted many hours; it fills two hundred columns of Hansard's Debates, and procured for him, in 1799, the government of India. But he there acted upon the reverse of Lord Cornwallis's policy, and in this, many thought he was mistaken; however, he extended the sway of British arms, and gratified the pride and vain-glory of England—overturned thrones and dominions, empires and principalities, and astonished the East by the boldness of his designs, the rapidity and brilliancy

* They raised themselves to four British peerages—Marquess Wellesley, Lord Maryborough, Lord Cowley, and the Duke of Wellington.

of his achievements, and the magic splendour of his establishments.* Although the principles taught in India are not well suited to a free state, yet when Viceroy in Ireland in 1822, he showed himself a friend to liberty; but he was thwarted by subordinates, assailed by violence, overwhelmed with abuse, and impeded in the praiseworthy efforts he made to extend equal rights and equal protection to all classes of the population of Ireland. The circumstance which added to his popularity with one party, most unjustly and unfortunately increased the hostility of the other. He had married a person distinguished for her beauty, her purity of mind, and her noble disposition. She was grand-daughter to the celebrated American Patriot, Carrol, of Carolton ; whose name is affixed to the Declaration of Independence, and who, when signing that celebrated document, at the hazard of life and fortune, as there were others of that name, purposely subjoined his place of abode, regardless of the consequences, after embarking in the cause of freedom. This lady was a Roman Catholic; and hence arose much of the violent and intemperate proceedings of the party opposed to that religion. But Lord Wellesley proceeded firmly in his course; and to him, in a great degree, is Ire-

* An American gentleman, who had dined at his palace at Calcutta, gave me an account of its grandeur and brilliancy equal to any of the descriptions in the fairy tales.

land indebted, for the discouragement shewn to the Orange-party, and the successful opposition to religious bigotry and intolerance.

LORD MORNINGTON TO MR. GRATTAN.

Albemarle Street, Dec. 9th, 1782.

My Dear Grattan,

I seize the first opportunity of offering my sincere congratulations to you upon the recovery of Miss Fitzgerald, which I heard of last night, from O'Beirne.* I have felt very anxiously, both for your situation and hers; and, believe me, nobody rejoices more thoroughly in the prospect of happiness, which the return of her health has opened to you both.

I sent a hasty account of the first day's business in the House of Commons to Ogle; the debate was very uninteresting, and did not deserve to be particularized: since that day nothing has passed of any consequence. The report of a peace gains ground every hour; this morning it was believed to have been signed, and that Gibraltar was ceded for Porto Rico and Minorca. The cession of Gibraltar will be an unpopular measure; it was but hinted on the first day, and the very suggestion threw the House into a ferment. The language generally held is, that our successes in the last campaign entitle us to an honourable peace; and that if France should be unreasonable in her demands, the war must be prosecuted with vigour. The situation of the Ministry seems to be very singular; the number of their DEVOTED friends is certainly inferior to that of their declared enemies; but their enemies are divided. Lord North's party is certainly the strongest in the House; but Lord North is equally averse to Shelburne,

* Afterwards Bishop of Meath,—first a friend, then a foe to freedom.

and to Fox. Lord North's language is, that he will support Government, as far as may be necessary for the strengthening of the nation's hands against foreign enemies; but that he will suffer no alterations in the constitution. You can easily conceive what a scene of confusion the contest between these three parties must afford — Fox, Lord North, and Pitt, equally, and by turns, opposed to each other. As yet there has been no division in Parliament, so that I cannot with any accuracy state the numbers of these parties.

Not one word has been said in debate upon Irish affairs; the subject is touched, as you will see, very cautiously, both in the Speech and addresses.

I have seen both the Duke of Portland and Fitzpatrick, and have from both received the most firm assurance of their intention, and that of Mr. Fox, to stand by the settlement of last Session. I was just proceeding to mention the matter relative to Lord Mansfield, and the Irish writ of Error, when I received your obliging letter. I will give you, as well as I am able, under a total ignorance of law in general, the state of that business, as it has been represented to me.

The case was, as I understand, entered for hearing before the time of the operation of the Irish Act, and was by some accident delayed until this last term. The reason why it was not dismissed when it came before the Court, subsequently to the operation of the Irish Act, was, that the time had elapsed for pleading against the competency of the Court, as pleadings had already begun upon the matter of the suit. The legal expression, I am told, is, that as the parties had already pleaded in chief, they could not afterwards plead to the writ. Now, at the time the cause was entered, the Irish Act had not passed; and therefore the objection to the competency of

the Court did not exist at the only period when it could have been admitted, consistently with the practice of the Court. I do not know whether I have made myself understood; but what I have stated comprehends all that I have been able to collect upon the subject. I should observe, that Lord Mansfield himself gave no sort of reason for his decision, but decided as a matter of course, without taking any notice of the particularity of the case. The argument I have alluded to was never touched by him. I think his silence alarming; and I do not think the reasoning I have stated at all satisfactory.

Dec. 11*th.*

I conversed last night with Mr. Fox on this subject; he told me that, when he was framing the Repeal of the 6th George I., he expressed doubts to the Attorney* and Solicitor General here, whether that act would extinguish the appeal, by writ of error, to the King's Bench of Great Britain, unless there was an express clause for the purpose. He told me that both those great lawyers assured him, that the simple repeal would utterly terminate all jurisdiction of the English courts of justice over Ireland. He seems now to think something further necessary, and to apprehend that Lord Mansfield could not have done otherwise than he did. I hold with you, that Lord Mansfield should have attended to the Irish law, which, in reason, ought to be paramount to the little forms of his Court. I should be very glad to know from you what remedy you propose for the extirpation of these sort of questions. I feel strongly the necessity of some further procedure; perhaps a bill here, declaring that the judicature is confined to Ireland, and forbidding the interference of the English Courts. You must see,—and I think every man of common dis-

* Lloyd Kenyon, afterwards Lord Kenyon, and John Lee.

cernment in Ireland must see,—that if Mr. Flood's Bill of Rights had passed in Ireland, and his renunciation in Great Britain, this very case would still have happened; so that Mr. Flood has no reason to plume himself upon it, as an example confirming his doctrine.

I am just come from the House of Commons, where a hundred and ten thousand men have been voted for the navy this year; peace seems every hour to become more doubtful. Lord Shelburne cannot stand; every body seems to be of this opinion; but who will succeed, or what is to be the system, is dubious; the prevalent opinion is, that Lord North and the old party will return. I have written this letter at various times and in much hurry, and have many excuses to make for its length and incoherency.

Yours sincerely,

MORNINGTON.

Henry Grattan, Esq.
Dawson Street, Dublin.

The following letter is of importance, as it explains the proceedings then in agitation in England, and the opinions of the men of that day.

MR. FITZPATRICK TO MR. OGLE.

London, Dec. 20th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

A short conversation took place yesterday, in our House of Commons, relative to Ireland, which, I observe, as is usually the case, is totally misrepresented in all the public papers, (at least, those which I have seen,) and which, if understood (in the manner there described), on your side of the water, will probably produce exactly the contrary effect from what was intended by those who brought it forward.

It is therefore necessary to acquaint you, both with the conversation itself, and with the reasons which induced me to give occasion to it. As I observed, from Mr. Grattan's answer to the Dublin Corps,*—the manly spirit of which I most sincerely admire, and think worthy of his character, —that he considered the late decree in the Court of King's Bench, in England, an infringement of that compact between the kingdoms, for the religious observance of which, the Duke of Portland must ever consider himself as a guarantee; and as I was certain that the disciples of Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Flood would eagerly take advantage of the circumstance, to increase the alarm they have been endeavouring to spread through Ireland; it occurred to me, that nothing could be more satisfactory to you and Mr. Grattan, than to obtain from the present Ministers a declaration of their readiness to concur in any measure which might have been omitted, and which now might be found essential to the complete restoration of the judicial supremacy of Ireland, before the recess of Parliament, which is about to take place, would, in all probability, tend very much to remove the uneasiness which I knew had arisen in the minds of many of the most respectable men, and the sincerest friends and well-wishers to the peace and harmony of both kingdoms. I thought such a declaration would be peculiarly agreeable to Mr. Grattan; and at the same time I desired Mr. Fox to take this opportunity of publicly declaring his sentiments upon the transactions of the late Sessions. I am glad to observe that the papers have, in some degree, more faithfully represented what he said, than what fell from me — at least, as far as his opinion is expressed upon the subject of the repeal of the 6th George I.

I must do the present Ministers the justice to say, that

* Dublin Independent Volunteers, ante, p. 23.

there appeared no disinclination whatever, on their part, to do whatever might be found requisite in the business, though they did not seem prepared to answer whether any further measure might be necessary. In a conversation I had afterwards with the Attorney General,* he appeared to me to be of an opinion that the matter is sufficiently secure, since all appeals to the Court of King's Bench, in England, must be certified over by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland, which of course he is restrained from doing by the Irish Act for regulating appeals. Consequently, unless an Irish judge shall act in open defiance of the Irish law, the case can never happen. At the same time, however, he added, that if it was desired, he saw no objection to an English Act to deprive the English Court of the jurisdiction complained of. I was informed since, that Lord Beauchamp expressed some dissatisfaction at my having mentioned the subject, in his absence from the house; and, as I find, he has given notice of his intention to bring forward two propositions, relative to Ireland, after the holidays, — I suppose one of them relative to this business, which, probably, he wished to have engrossed to himself, as a monopolist of Irish popularity. As I thought, however, that an early mention of it, and a discrimination of the matter in question, which relates solely to the judicial, from the legislative independence, might be agreeable to those whom I consider as more really and sincerely attached to the interests of Ireland than his Lordship, I am very glad to have drawn from Ministers so much as the conversation of yesterday gave rise to, with respect to the propositions he means to bring forward, as it is easy, from his pamphlet, to conjecture their tendency. I should be very happy to learn the sentiments of you and yonr friends,

* Mr., afterwards Lord Kenyon.

In my own opinion, I am clear, that both kingdoms shall adhere strictly to the letter and the spirit of last year's adjustment. I need not assure you how much the Duke of Portland feels interested in co-operating, in this country, with that set of men upon whose abilities and integrity he placed so just a reliance during his Government in Ireland.

I must now, my dear Sir, beg you to accept my sincere apologies for my idleness, in not having written to you earlier. The truth is, that I am one of the worst of correspondents, and I believe I am not too sanguine in hoping that you have never attributed my silence to any other cause. Will you be good enough to convey the same apology to General Burgoyne,* to whom I also owe it, having promised to write to him, and having, I am ashamed to confess, never fulfilled my engagements. Pray present my most sincere congratulations to Grattan upon his marriage to one of the prettiest women I saw in Dublin; he deserves all happiness, and I most sincerely wish he may enjoy it. Remember me to Forbes and Doyle;† I am sorry not yet to have read their names in the Gazette; and pray tell Sheridan‡ I am in daily expectation of his promised answer to my letter. With regard to our politics here, the hope of peace is vanished, and the universal want of confidence which prevails in our own minister, makes it probable that he cannot long retain his situation. He has not strength to carry a question in the House of Commons without the assistance of Lord North, who has hitherto supported him with such hostility, as must make his situation unpleasant, and to the last degree precarious beside. My dear Sir, believe me, with the greatest truth, your most sincere and affectionate humble servant,

R. Fitzpatrick.

* Commander-in-chief in Ireland.

† Afterwards General Sir John Doyle.

‡ Charles Francis, brother to Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

Mr. George Ogle was a character deserving of notice. He was an accomplished individual, possessed of wit and taste, a lively imagination, and a poetic mind. His voice was pleasing, and his manner full of energy and warmth; but his speeches were more figurative than solid: his qualities were social and urbane, and in mind, manner, and figure, he was a perfect gentleman. In the county where he resided, he was one of the most popular characters; he enjoyed a large fortune, and his style of living was profuse and splendid. He possessed public spirit, great courage, and was not without a sense of liberty; —he was the first in his county who applied to government for arms for the Volunteers. But on the Catholic subject, his mind was narrow; he considered it as a mere question of power, and the Protestants being the lesser number, he thought that they should look only to themselves, and keep in their hands the power as well as the property. But at the Union he rose superior to the trammels that others submitted to; he there shewed the independence of his mind, and asserted his superior disposition.

The idea of trying the question with Great Britain on the English act of William III. as to the right of Ireland to export her woollens, originated with Mr. Ogle. He entered on this bold contest, fearless of the consequence, and heedless of the expence. In concert with Mr.

Horan, a Dublin merchant, he freighted at his own cost, (not an inconsiderable one), a vessel with Irish goods, and entered them at the Custom House. The commissioners of revenue represented the circumstance to the Lord Lieutenant, (as stated in the second volume); the Ministers in both kingdoms took the alarm, and became at length sensible of the injustice inflicted on Ireland. They were led to this conclusion, no doubt, by the adverse majorities in the Irish House of Commons, and by 40,000 armed Volunteers. The country reaped the benefit of the proceeding, and George Ogle deserves the credit.

He was singular and wayward in his temper; and having got a pension for his family,* he turned suddenly on his friend, and quarrelled with Mr. Forbes when he brought in his pension bill.

He discovered an early taste for poetry, and was said to have been the author of "The Hermit of Killarney." When young, he wrote the "Banks of Banna," (a neighbouring stream in the county;) but the prettiest of his compositions was the celebrated ballad of "Molly Asthore," which Mr. Grattan, who was very fond of music, particularly admired. It was prettily harmonised, became very popular in all societies, and was the rage among the vocalists of the day. It was erroneously said to have been composed in honour

* 800*l.* per annum to Elizabeth Ogle, and 200*l.* per annum to Jane Moore,—pensions during pleasure, from August, 1785.

of Miss Moore, whom he afterwards married; it was founded on a melancholy circumstance which occurred in the county of Wexford, where Mr. Ogle resided. Henry Colclough and Mary Devereux had formed a strong attachment to each other; but their families (different in religion) were in a state of hostility as great as that of the Montagues and Capulets. Accordingly the lady was shut up, and the gentleman closely watched, all intercourse prohibited, and it was reported to him that she had proved faithless. He died of grief, and she drowned herself in despair. On this subject Mr. Ogle composed the poem, but has taken the ungallant licence of representing the lady as faithless, which, to the credit of the sex, was not the case.*

* We subjoin a copy of the song:—

As down by Banna's banks I stray'd, one evening in May,
The little birds with blithest notes made vocal every spray;
They sung their little notes of love, they sung them o'er and o'er.
Ah, gra-ma-chree, ma colleen oge, ma Molly asthore!†

The daisies pied, and all the sweets the dawn of nature yields,
The primrose pale, and violet blue, lay scatter'd o'er the fields;
Such fragrance in the bosom lies of her whom I adore.
Ah, gra-ma-chree, &c.

I laid me down upon a bank, bewailing my sad fate,
That doomed me thus the slave of love, and cruel Molly's hate;
How can she break the honest heart that wears her in its core?
Ah, gra-ma-chree, &c.

† The translation of these Irish words is,—

"Oh love of my heart—my dear young girl—my darling Molly."

In pursuance of the statement made by Mr. Grattan in his answer to the Dublin Corps on the subject of Lord Mansfield's conduct, he wrote to his friends in England, and received this reply

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You said you loved me, Molly dear,—ah, why did I believe?
Yet who could think such tender words were meant but to deceive;
That love was all I asked on earth,—nay, Heaven could give no more.
Ah, gra-ma-chree, &c.

Oh! had I all the flocks that graze on yonder yellow hill,
Or low'd for me the numerous herds that yon green pasture fill,
With her I love I'd gladly share my kine and fleecy store.
Ah, gra-ma-chree, &c.

Two turtle-doves above my head sat courting on a bough;
I envied them their happiness, to see them bill and coo;
Such fondness once for me she shew'd; but, now, alas! 'tis o'er.
Ah, gra-ma-chree, &c.

Then, fare thee well, my Molly dear! thy loss I e'er shall mourn;
While life remains in Strephon's heart, 'twill beat for thee alone:
Though thou art false, may Heaven on thee its choicest blessings pour.
Ah, gra-ma-chree, &c.

Another, said to be composed on the occasion, was "*The Banks of Banna.*"

Shepherds, I have lost my love;
Have you seen my Anna?
She's the pride of hill and grove,
Along the banks of Banna.

I, for her, my home forsook,
Near my misty mountain,
Left my flocks, my herds, my crook
My green wood's shade and fountain.

Never shall I see them more
Until her returning;
All the joys of life are o'er,
And pleasure turned to mourning.

from Mr. Stewart, the individual who had seconded his motion on the subject of Irish independence in 1780, and, strange to say, the father of the man who afterwards bartered that independent Legislature in 1800. Mr. Stewart evinced his anxiety on the subject, and having communicated with Lord Camden, gave the following explanation of the case. His censure of those who sought to disturb the settlement of the question was just and proper, and the opinion given by Lord Camden was of great value.

MR. STEWART TO MR. GRATTAN.

Camden Place, January 12, 1783.

DEAR GRATTAN,

I received your letter yesterday, and having conversed with Lord Camden respecting the procedure in the House of Lords, in lately calling for counsel in an Irish cause mentioned in your letter, I find, from his explanation of this business, the thing is strangely understood in Ireland; for he is clearly of opinion, that what was done is no infringement of the final judicature restored to the Irish House of Lords by the repeal of the 6th of George I. and our own statute of last session; nor could the English House, with any propriety, have acted otherwise; for the cause having been entered for hearing long before the passing of these acts, any proceedings of theirs thereon could never possibly clash with the operation and efficacy of these new laws; and had the House pronounced judgment upon the record, it must have been, of course, deemed a decision given as of an antecedent term; and upon that construction alone could its validity be contended for and maintained. This is

considered as so indisputable a case here, that had the British Houses of Parliament passed an act similar to ours respecting the final judicature, it would not have been construed by the Lords as precluding them from disposing of this cause; nor could they have acted otherwise, the attorneys not attending, as last year, when some Irish causes were withdrawn, in consequence of a little private communing with the agents. But there being no appearance for the parties, and the cause called in course as it stood on the list, without the House in general having any special notification, whether Irish or not; till the cause comes to be opened by counsel they are not supposed to be possessed of the nature of it; and when they are fully made acquainted with that, or an exception is taken to their jurisdiction, as *coram non judice,* it is surely full time enough to dismiss the cause. So that you see from this statement of the matter, the Irish have been a little too hasty in taking umbrage at what has happened in the House of Lords, as well as the King's Bench—an error I am not surprised the ignorant part of the nation should have fallen into, but do not think so very excusable in the Lawyers' Corps. I hope, however, something will be immediately done in the British Parliament that will set men's minds at rest on this subject; and that our countrymen will soon see the folly of listening to those who are only wanting to fish in troubled waters; and turn their minds in earnest to the making good use of the advantages we have got, and then I have no doubt but we shall soon feel we have abundant reason to be perfectly satisfied and contented. I am, dear Grattan, with esteem,

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT STEWART.

The history of the Renunciation Bill was sent to Mr. Grattan by Lord Mornington, who took a

note of the debate, which occurred in the English House of Commons; it appears that the part which was taken in this new agitation was strongly censured by Mr. Fox and his friends; they did not originate the Bill: it was proposed by Mr. Flood, with Lord Temple's approval; but as it was supposed to give satisfaction in Ireland, they gave it their support.

REPORT OF THE DEBATE IN THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, SENT BY LORD MORNINGTON TO MR. GRATTAN.

22 *Jan.* 1783.

Mr. Townshend said, that in pursuance of the notice which had been given by Mr. Grenville before the holidays, he rose to submit to the House, a proposition relative to Ireland; that he should not say much at that time, as he did not mean to propose a bill, but merely to move for leave to bring one in at a future day. He then mentioned the doubts which had arisen in Ireland, *he would not say how, and had been propagated he would not say how*—relative to the construction of the repeal of 6 Geo. I.;—said that those doubts had been increased by a late decision in the King's Bench of Great Britain; which decision, however, he said, he understood from the best information, the court was *bound to give.* He then *disclaimed all intention of reflecting on the late settlement with Ireland,* and made the following motion: "That leave be given to bring in a bill for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament, and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any writ

of error, or appeal, from any of his Majesty's courts in Ireland, from being received, heard, or adjusted in any of his Majesty's courts in this kingdom; and that Mr. Townshend, General Conway, Mr. Pitt, Mr. W. Grenville, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, do bring in the same."

Mr. Wm. Grenville* seconded the motion; expressed his satisfaction at seeing this business brought forward by Government so early, and in so comprehensive and satisfactory a manner; disavowed, in the strongest terms, all intention of reflecting *or acquiescing* in any reflection on those who conducted the settlement of last year in England, and in Ireland; spoke highly of the Duke of Portland's friends in Ireland; stated, that they had treated with Government here, on no other principle than a full and unequivocal abandonment of every idea of legislature and judicature on the part of Great Britain over Ireland; stated, that he held the repeal to be such an abandonment; that, however, doubts, groundless in his opinion, having arisen on the subject in Ireland, and those doubts having been confirmed by a late decision in the King's Bench, and that decision having rendered it necessary that Great Britain should speak upon the subject of Ireland again, he thought it for the magnanimity, dignity, and honour of Parliament, to speak in such a manner as should consign the question to eternal rest, and should satisfy all possible doubt, and would leave upon the records of parliament a lasting monument of the good faith of Great Britain towards Ireland. He said he wished to shew Ireland, that no change of situation could shake British sincerity, and that, what he, as an uninformed man hoped, and trusted, and believed, was a near prospect

* He had been Secretary in Ireland, and was afterwards Lord Grenville.

of peace, did not alter the sentiments of Great Britain with respect to Ireland; but that she was ready to explain at this moment, with as much liberality as she had conceded last year.

Mr. Eden did not express any intention of opposing the motion; talked of the repeal as a sufficient security to Ireland; said that, however, great authorities having instilled a contrary opinion in Ireland, something further might be necessary; spoke most respectfully of Flood's abilities, and the Recorder's integrity, and David Walshe's accuracy and precision; concluded with declaring that he thought there were several matters which required adjustment between the two countries; referred to the resolution of the British Parliament, and which says, "that a solid basis of permanent connexion," &c. &c.; and said that that resolution, in his interpretation, opened the ground of a general act of settlement, which he thought a necessary measure for the peace of both countries.

Lord Beauchamp said, as far as he could understand the intentions of Government, he approved of them, believing them to mean an explicit dereliction, *in terms*, of all right of legislation and judicature. He then entered into a confused sort of detail of Flood's arguments against simple repeal; and said he wished to have the business *done, so that it could not be undone.*

Colonel Fitzpatrick, who spoke before Lord Beauchamp, and then replied to him, said he would not oppose the bill, but feared its object would not be answered if it proposed to prevent jealousy and discontent; that whilst there was a man in Ireland whose importance subsisted upon the ferment of the country, grounds of jealousy and discontent would be found; spoke of the repeal as a measure perfect in itself; wished the present bill had

referred only to the decision in the King's Bench, without touching the matter of legislature; seemed to consider the clamour prevailing in Ireland as an inadequate ground for the deliberation of the British Parliament, after the Irish Parliament had expressed satisfaction in the repeal, and had not yet retracted such expression; intimated that this bill was a sort of impeachment of the sufficiency of the repeal. He spoke repeatedly, in the warmest terms, of the honour, ability, and integrity of those in Ireland, who managed the settlement. Lord Beauchamp and he sparred a good deal; but this you will hear of in the newspapers, and it is not important to us; so I pass it over.

Mr. Grenville rose again to disavow, in the strongest manner, all intention of impeaching the repeal, and referred to the opinion which he had stated on a former day,—"That he held the repeal to be a complete abandonment of every idea of legislation, or judicature over Ireland," and that the present motion did not in the least contradict that opinion.

Mr. Fox.—Knowing the delicacy of the subject before the House, he would say but a few words, as he thought it essential to both countries that Ireland should be as seldom brought into debate as possible. He said that he not only held the repeal to be a complete renunciation in its nature and intentions, but that he knew that it did give full, perfect, and general satisfaction to the people of Ireland, at the time it passed;—that he was not one who held the doctrine that the people could speak through no other organ than Parliament; but that when he considered the circumstances under which the addresses of the Irish Parliament had passed, the movers of them, the unanimity of the Houses, he did not hesitate to pronounce that those addresses did speak the sense of the people as well as of the

Parliament of Ireland. After such a declaration of the Parliament on the part of themselves and the people of Ireland, expressing perfect satisfaction in the repeal, and assuring his Majesty that no constitutional question remained to interrupt the harmony between the two countries, would it not be strange if the Parliament of Great Britain should say to the Parliament of Ireland, You know nothing of the sense of your own people; you say they are satisfied; we are better informed than you, and know they are not; though you talk of uninterrupted and permanent harmony, we know that discord prevails amongst you? He said that he considered the bill passed in Ireland for the extinction of the writ of error as sufficient for that purpose, inasmuch as it rendered all judgments given here nugatory in Ireland; therefore for Ireland it was effectual. For England perhaps the bill now proposed might be useful, as it would save her from the undignified situation of giving nugatory decisions in her courts of justice. With respect to the preamble, which touches the matter of legislation, that *perhaps* might be proper also; but he much feared it would not answer, believing, upon the ground taken by Fitzpatrick, that doubts would be made and exceptions taken, though a thousand bills of explanation were passed, as long as men had an inclination to quarrel, or an interest in confusion. With respect to what Lord Beauchamp had said, of doing the thing in a way not to be undone, he said the claim might be revived as well after renunciation as repeal—that the matter to be wished was to produce a confidence in Ireland—that the faith of Great Britain had been fairly plighted by the repeal, and that measure he believed did produce such a confidence at the time it passed. How that confidence had since been shaken, he would not say. He then spoke highly of the Duke of Portland's friends; said they were not only men of the

first talents, but of the highest honour; feared this bill was an abandonment of them; that it was a desertion of those who had acted upon real principle, and an adoption of those whose views were merely to confound, and to gain by a trick a popularity they had justly forfeited; said the Duke of Portland's friends were people with whom the country could treat with safety. Fox said a great deal more in praise of us, and ended without any specific declaration that I could collect, of support or opposition to the bill.

Mr. W. Grenville in the most strong terms declared, that he had not said anything which could in any way be construed into an intention of deserting us or our principles, saying that Mr. Fox had justly described us, and that he knew us to be men with whom Great Britain might at any time safely treat.

Mr. Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, he was happy to find, that notwithstanding the conversation rather than debate which had taken place rather superfluously, the House unanimously agreed in the great object of the motion. He said that he trusted it would be found, that the persons who held the government in England and Ireland were not less disposed to adopt every measure calculated to merit the confidence of both countries, than Mr. Fox's friends had been.

Mr. Percival and Mr. M'Donald spoke, but were not heard.

The motion passed without a division. I forgot to say that Mr. Grenville, in reply to Mr. Fox, quoted an expression of yours, in one of your answers to a volunteer address. He said, that so far from impeaching any of the Duke of Portland's friends by this bill, all that was intended was, as had been publicly expressed by one of them, that Great Britain, being obliged to speak again upon the Irish subject, should speak sincerely and openly.

I have left out much of Fox's speech, but have mentioned the most material parts.—Ever yours,

MORNINGTON.

Fox talked much of some end being put to the business; that there must be finality somewhere, and seemed to think that this bill would open the matter again.

M.

The part that Lord Mornington states, as omitted in Mr. Fox's speech, was pretty nearly as follows: its expressions are too remarkable to be passed over; they will be found to apply to other political proceedings besides those in question.

He said if ever the public voice spoke, it must surely have been then, when the whole representative body of the nation, (I wish for the honour of the two Dissentients,* I could say,) to a man, approved of what he did. What would the sons of faction, with all their pretended patriotism, have more? Can they be ignorant, that *confidence is the very basis of all compacts* of the nature of that in question? Can they be ignorant, that if we were not honest in what we have done, no future act will purge us of our knavery? These demagogues are not so weak as to be ignorant, *that Parliament will not bind that nation that honour cannot.* Crafty and turbulent, these men would get a name by depreciating the labours

* Mr. Walsh and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, (the recorder); the two tellers against 211 in the debate of the 27th of May, 1782, on the address, proposed by Mr. Grattan, seconded by Mr. Brownlow.

of the friends of their country. No measure under heaven would satisfy them, if the measure did not originate with them. Two and two could not possibly make four, unless they had the casting up the sum. Envious of the laurels of their fellow-citizens, they would see their country steeped in blood, for the chance of stripping the patriotic brow. It required the confidence of the people to do what has already been done for Ireland; a confidence those who are now so clamorous had a very little share of, when that important act took place, of which they are now so blustering in their censures.

LORD MORNINGTON TO MR. GRATTAN.

Jan. 24*th*, 1783.

My Dear Grattan,

I sent you a hurried account of the conversation on the 22nd, by the King's messenger, who carried the dispatch to the Castle; I think the business wears a favourable appearance, as there was not a negative voice on the motion. Whether I have in my hurry mis-stated any part of the conversation, I know not; Fitzpatrick's speech was of that nature to be liable to misconstruction; he objected to a part of the motion, upon the idea of its impeaching the Repeal; but he was decidedly of opinion that something was necessary to be done with respect to the Writ of Error. In Ireland this may be construed into an absolute refusal of any further satisfaction. I saw Fitzpatrick, according to your desire, before the 22nd, and signified to him my wish that he would support the bill, which you

and our friends in Ireland, had framed.* I understood from him, that he meant to do so; but you know that the bill has since undergone alterations. I do not, however, believe, from what I can gather, that Fitzpatrick means absolute opposition to the bill; I rather think his intention is solely to do ample justice to your settlement, and to shew his firmness. This he has done already; and unless you disapprove the present bill, I am inclined to think he will stop here. Nothing could be more handsome than Fox's speech towards us; he abused Flood most bitterly, to the great edification of the Earl of Bellamont, who was under the gallery. By-the-bye, his Lordship now says "that Ireland, which lately was governed by a *sub-delegated aristocracy*, and a *modelled faction*, is at present governed by a *Triumvirate*, namely, Harry Flood, Lord Beauchamp, and another person, *whom his modesty will not permit him to name.*"†

* This was not brought into Parliament; it regarded merely Writs of Error.

† This was a whimsical and irregular character, possessing a malicious disposition to mischief, half comedy, half tragedy, pretending to be jocular, but at bottom false and hollow. In his dealings between man and man he used with great gravity to declare that *there was a custom in his family never to show their title deeds, and that he would not be the one to break through it.* He possessed the parade of courage, and acted as a friend to Mr. Flood in his correspondence with the Duke of Chandos, respecting the borough of Winchester: but when the matter assumed a serious aspect, he declined further interference, although he considered his friend in the right, and assigned over the care of his honour to Sir Lawrence Parsons. His interview with the Marquess of Buckingham was rather comical:—he abruptly paid him a visit, and told him that when he had been in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, he had promised him a situation, and that he must pay off the debt. The Marquess replied that it was not possible he could have made the promise, as he was not able to keep those which he had made to his own friends. Lord Bellamont adroitly retorted,—"*My Lord, you may take*

The preliminaries of peace were signed on the 20th, between Great Britain, France, and Spain; they have not been laid before Parliament; but I hear that we are to stand in the West Indies as we did before the war, excepting only that we give up Tobago. We give up the Floridas to Spain, for the liberty of cutting logwood in Campeachy Bay. Spain keeping Minorca, we keep Canada, but give up part of the Newfoundland fishery. A cessation of arms is agreed on with Holland. This is all I have heard; when I hear anything further, I will write to some of our friends in Ireland.

My brother desires to join me in best compliments to Mrs. Grattan. Believe me to be, dear Grattan,

Most sincerely yours,

MORNINGTON.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's letter further explains the proceedings in reference to this act, and shews its real character. In truth, the measure was founded on the idea of Mr. Flood, and was a party and a factious proceeding. Having roused the Irish into discontent, he appealed to Lord Temple, Lord Beauchamp, and their old opponents, to bring in the bill. Mr. Fitzpatrick saw the measure in its true form,* and characterised it accordingly; the explanation he gives, throws considerable light on the transactions of the preceding year, when he and Mr. Fox directed the affairs of Ireland.

what liberty you please with your own relations;"—and he soon got the place.

* When the 6th of Geo. I. was repealed, Dublin was illuminated, and the Volunteers and Garrison fired a *feu de joie;* but when this bill passed, not a light appeared, not a shot was fired.

MR. FITZPATRICK TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, Jan. 28th, 1783.

Dear Sir,

I postponed returning you thanks, for your very obliging letter, till the business of Ireland had been brought forward in the House of Commons. Lord Mornington, who was present, told me he should immediately write you an account of what had passed; I did not therefore think it necessary to trouble you with another account. I must confess to you, that I found myself much disappointed in the measure of that day, and the mode of introducing the business struck me as particularly objectionable. From what I understood by your letter, as well as the letters I received from the Attorney General and Sheridan, I expected a bill relative to the judicature, with a preamble, explanatory of the repeal of 6th Geo. I. To such a measure, I came prepared to give all the support in my power, though not without some doubts as to the expediency of the preamble, which, however, would not have weighed with me against your better judgment. I was, indeed, very much surprised to find the intended bill, brought in by Mr. Townshend, entirely upon the principles of Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Flood, and grounded wholly upon the supposed universal discontent of Ireland. Even to such a bill I should have no objection, as an additional security to the rights of Ireland, if necessary; but the introducing of it in the precipitate manner in which it has been done, and upon the vague reports of the most alarming situation of things in Ireland, as well as without any further communication with the Parliament of Ireland, seems to me, to the last degree, unbecoming the dignity of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, and to betray a weak-

ness and unsteadiness in Government, more suited to the system of our predecessors than that which we had hoped to establish. I certainly was never one of those who maintained that the sense of Parliament, when evidently averse to that of the public, ought to be held sacred, or infallible; but when Parliament speaks confessedly the sentiments of their constituents, as that of Ireland unquestionably did at the close of the last Session, when your measures received the most decided support from the whole body of the independent country gentlemen, I cannot help thinking, that the most mischievous effects are to be expected from the total disregard, or rather contempt, shewn in our present proceeding, of the sense, so respectfully spoken, of the Irish Parliament; and as an Irishman I protest I should feel much more real security for my liberty, relying on the good faith of England, publicly and solemnly pledged as it has been, than on a further *extorted* concession, which implies a strong suspicion of the sincerity of England, and which, though hitherto it seems likely to produce no debate, I can plainly perceive, indisposes the minds of many, who seem to think that Ireland derives delight and satisfaction from our humiliation; and should such an opinion generally prevail, the seeds of future disputes are sown, and the adjustment is not final. I certainly should have preferred to any measure, the resolution you suggest, as proper to have followed the rejection of Lord Beauchamp's proposition; which, though it would have fallen short of what he and Mr. Flood insist upon, would have quieted the apprehensions of the well-intentioned; and, though not an act of the legislature, must have ever been considered as a solemn national engagement, to relinquish all legislative power over Ireland. There I would have made the stand fairly, and by totally disregarding all clamour, whether of volunteers or others,

I am fully convinced that an honest, uncorrupt, steady Government, would soon have restored tranquillity to Ireland, and have left her at leisure to reap the benefits of those acquisitions, for which she is principally indebted to your exertions, and which she never can profit by, while the minds of the people are kept in the state in which it is the object and interest of some to keep them.

I beg to be remembered to the Attorney General and Doyle; and believe me, dear Sir, with the most perfect respect and esteem,

Your very faithful humble servant,

R. FITZPATRICK.

There were at this period, in Ireland, two parties most opposite in their situation and principles, but in their hostility united against Mr. Grattan. Those were the dregs of the old opposition, and the outcasts of the old court. The former had been omitted in the Duke of Portland's government, on account of their character; and the latter had been discarded for the same reason; and both found it their interest to attack him, as an impediment to the gratification of disappointed ambition, or the return of discarded corruption. Some of them had applied to Mr. Grattan to use his influence to procure them office, and were dissatisfied at being refused. In reference to the latter, it must be observed, that the government of Ireland, founded as it had been till that time, on a suppression of the rights of Parliament — on principles inconsistent with its liberties, and contrary to its laws—and maintained

solely by practices of corruption, had fallen for the most part, into the hands of men divested of public principle. The minister of the House of Commons was sometimes a native, but the *confidant* was ever a stranger by birth, an adventurer by situation, a spy on the proceedings, and an enemy to the rights of the nation. When the force of the country was called forth, and the demands of Parliament, backed by the vigour of the nation, restored the constitution of the country in the administration of the Duke of Portland, this description of men was discarded; and the New Administration thought it necessary, in order to obtain the confidence of the nation, not only to acknowledge her right, but dismiss her enemies. Such was Mr. Grattan's opinion and advice to Mr. Fox in April 1782.*

Those men, who had been notoriously active against the liberties of Ireland, and who had been publicly execrated by her people,—being removed from power for their servitude, now betook themselves to sedition—(the tyrant is not more akin to the slave than the courtier to the incendiary.) They strove to make the Volunteers declare the country had got nothing, and rebel against their own liberty. The men who ordered this, were those who had written under Mr. Eden's government, in support of a perpetual Mutiny Bill—who had written and spoken in support of the supremacy

* See his Letter to Mr. Fox, vol. ii. p. 248.

of England under Lord Buckingham and Mr. Eden—who had secretly acted as spies, and publicly presided in the House as servants of corruption—declaimed against, what they called the inadequacy of simple Repeal, and assumed the cant, the declamation, and the airs of public liberty, after it had been established against their efforts, and after they had been dismissed because they had lost their character on account of their opinions. They now invited the Volunteers to oppose the Constitutional settlement, to exclaim against the reality of their freedom, and to supersede the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, under the pretence of better securing its authority: they invited them to interfere against the fencible regiments, to call for a convention, to overawe the Parliament,—having got freedom and trade from the preceding one, and having obtained a new Parliament, chosen on the principle of liberty, with the additional encouragement, that they had extolled the former to the skies for the good it had done, and the blessing it had conferred on the nation. These old advocates for slavery, now told Ireland that she was betrayed, and betrayed byGreat Britain; and they proceeded to take part with an unlawful pageant, which was called a convention, to supersede, overawe, and reform Parliament, with their bill in one hand, and their bayonet in the other.

Conventions, no doubt, are to be resorted to,

and have been called into action with success; but they are weapons of so formidable a nature, that they should be carefully preserved, and seldom used.

For the credit of the nation, it must be said, that the spirit of discontent did not pervade the entire country; there was much of party, much of faction, private jealousy, and disappointment; political artifice, and British intrigue. Those of the old court were angry at the success of popular measures, and were anxious for the return of their party to power. Others thought to rouse the Irish Volunteers on the subject of Reform, with a view to support Mr. Pitt on that question, and to embarrass Mr. Fox's administration.

The proceedings of the party were extravagant and eccentric. They first called for the constitution of England as the greatest blessing, and their final object. They contended for a repeal of the 6th of George I., the limited Mutiny Bill, the modification of Poyning's law, and the independency of the judges, as a consummation of freedom and content. Shortly afterwards they resolved that they were not emancipated, and finally took a British statute in preference to an Irish charter.

In their provincial meetings they proceeded to resolve that the Parliament was an intolerable grievance, and that without reform their very existence was a curse, not a blessing. Their

fidelity to men too was as remarkable as their fidelity to measures, and they who adored the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox, condemned both immediately after. They made Mr. Yelverton Attorney-General, and then they *gibbetted* him. Their admiration and adoration gave Mr. Grattan 50,000*l.*, and afterward they reproached him with great malignity; endeavoured to blast their own grant; followed him, broken down with sickness, to a distant country, with the bitterest invectives; and exercised towards the same man, the same person, and the same measures, in the short space of a few months, adoration, detestation, unexampled liberality, and unprecedented abuse. They elected him member of their corps when he brought them into danger; they expelled him when he gave them liberty!

This was in a great degree Mr. Flood's doing, and for this he is to be held answerable to his country. The people were not wild nor corrupt, but he was factious, and they would have gone right, had they not been purposely led astray.

The press, that is generally the author of its own destruction, adopted at this period an extreme and a dangerous course. Hitherto it had greatly served the cause of Ireland, and the principles of rational and constitutional freedom; but now it almost seemed to have conspired against itself, and to have endeavoured by a course of falsehood and folly to become the instrument of its own

depression.* At one time it advised all men to refuse taxes; at another it advised all men to rise in arms; at another it recommended to break off the connection with England; at another to form one with France;—and it joined all this with a complaint that the nation had lost the liberty of the press. These publications, without beginning and without end, running on the feet of old remonstrances, and in the cadence of grievances dead and gone, ventilated the ears of the people with the eternal soundings of false grievances, lest they should ever repose. Others in a strain of affected zeal, but real hypocrisy, veiled the love of power and the low views of demagogues, and applied their canting talents to exhort sedition, and all directed the artillery of the press to the artillery of the volunteers.

Dull and vapid as their genius seemed to be, the effect, however, was, that nations abroad thought Ireland on the eve of a rebellion, and men at home who had an inclination to settle in Ireland, were deterred, principally by the publications of persons who wrote for hire, at the loss of peace to the nation. Men thought they saw things returning to old times; they saw the ill humours of the community set afloat, and did not know where they would stop.

* No publications of that day, however, equal the violence and grossness of the press in the present times, and in both countries; but these blemishes will pass away, and leave the great luminary still brilliant and unclouded.

Government, however, acted well. No extraordinary measures were taken to punish their conduct. The laws were not strained. The wise policy was to leave the press to itself. They let it proceed in its blind and headlong course; and without a ray of genius—the recommendation of martyrdom—or the reputation of truth—it rolled on to oblivion.

The summer of 1783 was passed in considerable agitation. The public mind had not been suffered to repose; the doubts as to British sincerity, factiously excited, were artfully kept up, and another but wider ground for discontent was raised throughout the nation, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. In this case there was undoubtedly very just cause for complaint, and ample ground for amendment. The Parliament of Ireland was not a representation of the popular voice; the people had not their just weight in that assembly, and the proceedings from the year 1778 to the year 1782 had shown how difficult it was to rouse that body to a sense of public duty, liberty, or nationality. The volunteers unfortunately took up the idea of force instead of petition or remonstrance, and proceeded at their meetings and provincial assemblies in 1783 to enquire into the defects of the body they had just called into life. They went farther, and not only examined the wounds, but probed them with the sword. By this they threw back the question;

they injured the cause of Reform, and confirmed the bad composition of that assembly, which, if milder means had been resorted to, would probably have been corrected. They might have known that Parliamentary dignity could only exist as founded on Parliamentary reputation; that a steadfast opposition to the sense, and a scorn for the complaints of the people, could neither restore nor exalt it, still less an audacious abuse of a public trust. They had remedied some of these evils, and had only to provide against the remainder, which must in the end have yielded even to the *unarmed* majesty of the people. They now were free, and could have used the instruments of a free state, instead of the weapons of a distracted one. But impatience often outruns wisdom—as the child plants the acorn and expects it at once to spring up an oak; whereas, if he had waited with patience, and pruned with care, his posterity would have reposed beneath its shade.

CHAPTER III.

Lord Temple's short administration in Ireland — Succeeded by Lord Northington—Change of Ministry in 1783—List of—New Parliament assembled in Ireland — Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood returned for boroughs—The King's answer to the address—New opposition commenced in Parliament—Question of retrenchment—Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan differ in opinion thereon—Remarks on the policy of Ireland with reference to England — Dispute between Mr. Flood and Mr. George Ponsonby—Mr. Flood's attack upon the Whigs—His connexion with the Duke of Chandos—Conduct of the Whigs and Tories — Dispute between Mr. Daly and Mr. Flood — His advice to the Volunteers, and reply to Mr. Flood—Causes which led to the dispute between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan—Their speeches—Letter to Mr. Day—Hostile meeting—Second attack by Mr. Flood—Message from Mr. Grattan, and correspondence between Mr. Cuffe and Mr. Montgomery on the subject—General Burgoyne's letter to Mr. Fox, with respect to the dispute, and to the meeting of the Convention.

After the dissolution of the Rockingham administration, Lord Temple came to Ireland in September 1782, as Lord Lieutenant, with William Grenville* his Secretary. As he appeared a second time in the Vice-regal capacity some years after, and pursued a course as unconstitutional in Ireland as that which he adopted with reference to the East India Bill in England, he will

* Afterwards Lord Grenville. He was a good speaker, and a great debater, with a thick voice and a bad manner; not so good an orator as Lord Grey, but *a master of politics*.

deserve further notice, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon his conduct at present. He turned his attention to two points; he urged on his friends in England the expediency of passing Mr. Flood's scheme, (the Bill of Renunciation;) he next applied himself to an enquiry into the various departments of the state, with a view to a proper expenditure of the public money, and a stricter economy. His reign, however, was short; it lasted only from September 1782 to April 1783, when the coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox taking place, he was succeeded in June 1783 by the Earl of Northington,* whose administration formed one of the most important periods in the history of the times.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY, JUNE 1783.

GREAT BRITAIN—*Members of the Cabinet.*

First Lord of the Treasury,—Duke of Portland.
Secretary of State for the Home Department,—Lord North.
Secretary for the Foreign Department,—Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,—Lord J. Cavendish.
First Lord of the Admiralty,—Lord Viscount Keppel.
President of the Council,—Lord Viscount Stormont.
Lord Privy Seal,—Earl of Carlisle.

Not of the Cabinet.

Lords Com. Cus. G. Seal,—Lord Loughborough, Sir W. H. Ashurst, Sir Beaumont Hotham.

* Robert Henley was first Baron and Earl of Northington, in 1764, and Lord Chancellor of England. He died in 1772, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Robert Henley, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who died in 1786, when the title became extinct.

Master General of the Ordnance,—Lord Visc. Townshend.
Secretary at War,—Hon. R. Fitzpatrick.
Paymaster of the Forces,—Edmund Burke, Esq.
Treasurer of the Navy,—Charles Townshend, Esq.
Attorney General,—James Wallace, Esq.
Solicitor General,—John Lee, Esq.
Secretaries to the Treasury,—R. B. Sheridan, Esq., Richard Burke, Esq.
Speaker of the House of Lords,—Earl of Mansfield.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant,—Earl of Northington. (3d June,1783.)
Secretary to ditto,—William Windham, Esq.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,—Wm. Gerard Hamilton.
To continue Lord Chancellor,—Lord Lifford.
Attorney General,—J. Fitzgibbon, (afterwards Lord Clare.)
Solicitor General,—Hugh Carleton, (afterwards Lord Carleton, and Judge in Common Pleas.)
Prime Serjeant,—Thomas Kelly, (afterwards Justice of Common Pleas.)

Parliament had been dissolved in the course of the year, and the first Parliament that was ever called under a free constitution in Ireland, assembled on the 14th of October, 1783. Mr. Pery was again chosen Speaker. It was singular that neither Mr. Grattan nor Mr. Flood were elected, or even had been put in nomination, for any popular constituency. Mr. Grattan sat again for the Borough of Charlemont, and Mr. Flood (with John Philpot Curran) for the Borough of Kilbeggan. The address in reply to the speech from the throne, stated "that the sincerity and good faith"

of Great Britain, so abundantly testified by the sacred regard shown on her part to the adjustment of their constitution and commerce, demanded their warmest acknowledgments, while they enjoyed the full possession of those constitutional and commercial advantages *which were so firmly established in the last Parliament.*"

It is here observable, that no notice whatever was taken of the act of Renunciation, either in the speech or the address; and the reason was, that the Irish Parliament would not be party to a British statute which assumed by its own authority to settle the constitution of Ireland. This was tantamount to an expression of satisfaction, and was a recognition of the validity of the settlement made in the preceding year. The reply to the address was judicious and prudent, and contained a sentiment which, if it had been faithfully observed, would have been fortunate for both countries,—"*a sacred regard to the late adjustment.*" But the minister at a later period of this history unfortunately adopted a principle directly the reverse, and confirmed in the minds of the Irish people those doubts as to British sincerity which were so injudiciously excited on the present occasion. The answer from the king is remarkable:—

"His Majesty receives with the greatest satisfaction, the declaration of his faithful Commons; that, duly sensible of the *sincerity and good faith manifested by Great*

Britain, in the sacred regard shewn on her part to the late adjustment of the constitution and commerce of Ireland, they will earnestly concur in every measure that may confirm and strengthen the mutual confidence of both kingdoms; and that *union in sentiment as well as interest*, which is so essentially necessary to the strength, honour, and prosperity of the empire."

It was an unfortunate circumstance, that some men who were then in opposition, should have adopted its daily practice, and at the outset of the session, instead of joining with the Government that had done so much for Ireland, should have entered into a petty warfare, and should have exhibited doubt — mistrust — and enmity. Among these was Sir Edward Newenham, a vain, weak and superficial, though not an ill-meaning individual. He proposed a six months' money bill, without a shadow of pretence or the semblance of argument. Another member (Mr. Griffith) called for protecting duties for the Irish trade. Another member, (Mr. Molyneux) a few weeks after, proposed a tax upon absentees.

These propositions, coming so soon after the declaration of the House that the two countries had but one common interest, and were united in affection, discovered a spirit of jealousy, ill-suited to the times, and were an unworthy return for the concessions that had been made to the country. It does not appear, from an examination of the public accounts, that there was any grounds for these

propositions. The Civil Establishment of Ireland including pensions, for two years ending March 1781, was 328,502*l.*; in March 1783, 343,635*l.*; the Military Establishment in 1781, was 920,224*l.*; in 1783, it was only 898,620*l.*; the National Debt in 1783, was 2,034,953*l.*; and the ordinary revenue in 1783, was 2,430,893*l.* Custom's, Excise, &c. &c., were 2,227,947*l.*; the Carriage Duty was 7,664*l.*; the Hearth-money 125,824*l.*; the Stamps 69,458*l.*; and the debt ending March 1784, was only 1,997,417*l.* So that, from this statement, it appears there was a clear surplus-revenue above expenditure. Lord Temple's government had looked to every expence with the eye of scrutiny, and the dawn of Lord Northington's bore no appearance of extravagance.

Notwithstanding these favourable symptoms, the question that first engaged the attention of Parliament was that of retrenchment, a popular subject certainly at all times, and one that affords constant food for angry opposition. Sir Henry Cavendish, on the 28th of October, 1783, made a motion, that the condition of the kingdom required every practicable retrenchment in its expenses. Mr. Flood, who at that time sat in opposition, after some severe remarks upon the Government, proposed an amendment, to the effect that the Military Establishment afforded room for practicable retrenchment. This was the subject which drew forth from Mr. Grattan and Mr.

Flood, the severest philippics against each other, that any public men in modern times have indulged in; and perhaps we need not except those between Demosthenes and Æschines, or between Milton and Salmasius. The latter certainly were coarser and less polished. In the present case, exclusive of personal considerations, the subject in dispute was one on which these individuals entirely differed.

It has been already mentioned in the preceding volumes, that in the viceroyalty of Lord Townshend, 15,000 men was the number of troops to be kept up by Ireland: it was now proposed to dispense with a portion of this force. Mr. Grattan thought that Ireland was bound by the covenant, and was averse to any diminution. It might have been injudicious to keep up such a force in 1775, 76, and 79, when England refused everything; and it may have been wise and just in 1783, when she refused nothing; in fact, the gratitude of the Irish now, was *the voluntary effusion of generous and equal minds—and no longer the sad tribute of reluctant slaves.* But the minds of men had not grown up to their situation; they contended that some expense might be saved; and that the house of Commons had a precedent, inasmuch, as former governments had withdrawn the troops even in the time of war; leaving thereby the state unprotected. No doubt this had proved a fortunate circumstance for Ireland, as it gave birth

to the Volunteers; but a wise people should never make the violation on the part of a minister the rule of their own conduct; such errors should be beacons to avoid, and not precedents to follow; for they may be certain that government will encroach still more, and adduce the very proceedings of the people as a ground for further violations of compact; and in the present case, the best chance that Ireland had of making Government preserve their covenants, was by upholding her own. Such a course too was inglorious in the extreme: for a scruple of revenue, it was proposed to depart from a solemn agreement, which was nothing to Ireland as a nation, having just obtained trade and commerce, and which was certain to lessen her character, and lower her in the estimation of other countries, especially in that of England. At this moment in particular, Ireland was required to shew moderation, and avoid all questions of party, and above all, any questions that brought the affairs or the interests of the two kingdoms into collision. Sir Henry Cavendish's motion was opposed by Mr. George Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Kelly, (Prime Serjeant,) and Mr. Pelham, the Secretary; and after a long debate, the motion of adjournment was agreed to.

These debates served to alarm the minds of both parties in England; they saw an attempt to reduce the army to almost nothing, and a latent design to set up the Volunteers as a permanent

army of observation in their place. They beheld also in the debates within, as well as without the walls of Parliament, an indifference manifested towards its authority. Lord Charlemont, who was strong in his attachment to the British connexion, seemed scarcely aware of the impolicy of the proposed measures, or perhaps felt jealous of what he supposed an encroachment on *his prerogative;* for he was at the head of an army which he had commanded for four years ; and though he could not consider it possible that such a force could be continued, yet he was naturally unwilling to admit the necessity of keeping up so large a regular army as was necessary to form a counterpoise to the one which he had so long commanded.

Mr. Flood, too, had assisted at the provincial meetings ; he was pledged to attend the Convention ; he had taken great pains in the management of the question of Reform, and Lord Charlemont was now much influenced by him, and was induced to side in opinion with him on the question of retrenchment.

Mr. Grattan, though a friend to economy, was afraid of any step that tended to lessen the character of the country. He thought the measures now proposed were ineligible and injudicious, and declined to join in an opposition of that character, lest it might be said that every effort had been made to gain the affections of the Irish by a series of concessions, and every experiment had been tried

to cultivate their friendly disposition, but all to no purpose. In fact, the country stood too high for such squabbling measures, and nothing was wanting to complete her character but her moderation and immutability, both as to men and measures; and if, after obtaining her requisition, she pursued the principle she then professed—that of mutual harmony—of being one people, having common interest with England—and under which she had preferred her claim of right; she was certain to be advanced in prosperity as much as she was in reputation. But if these principles were to be cried down, under the pretence that men were not to ruin Ireland to serve England, it was clear that nothing would be wanting to complete such a separation of mind, but that Great Britain should reciprocate the sentiment. Ireland had an interest in the British Empire, of which she formed a principal part—an interest in her navy—an interest against the House of Bourbon; and consequently an interest in maintaining fifteen thousand men for the common cause; so that this establishment may justly have been considered, not as a measure of gratitude (which it was termed), but as an act of empire. It appeared not only ungenerous, but impolitic on the part of Ireland, to withdraw her proportion of troops, at a time when England had acceded to the terms of Ireland, and had herself suffered great loss of troops and territory in America. It did not now become the

sister-kingdom to draw back, and turn economists in national support and imperial contribution, and run down the establishment, under the pretence that it was not needed for England, and was expensive to Ireland. Affairs were altered from what they had been when Mr. Flood opposed retrenchment; when unpopular and extravagant governments were in power. The Government in Ireland stood now on a popular basis, and had for its supporters, men attached to the people, and who had been the uniform friends of economy.

Several individuals, Mr. Flood among the rest, thought this measure directed against the volunteers. Government in both kingdoms viewed them with apprehension, and had attempted to lessen their influence by the introduction of fencible regiments. This plan having failed, it was thought prudent to keep up the full number of troops: hence it was that the question of retrenchment, always popular, became doubly so, when supposed to be connected with the existence of the volunteers.

Mr. Flood well knew the ground he stood upon, and by his repeated attacks, and renewed amendments on this subject, showed that he was determined to take every advantage of the position he held. It seemed, however, rather suspicious coming from men who had opposed retrenchment before, and some of whom, a few days after, proposed an increase to the salary of the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary, without their knowledge,

and contrary to their wishes, and who sought to saddle the country with an expense of several thousands a-year at the very moment they cried out for retrenchment. This motion was perhaps a speculation on the change of ministers, and proposed in order to gain favour with their successors. It gave an appearance of faction to the whole of the proceedings, and was so considered by the Lord Lieutenant, who refused the augmentation of salary, and in his letter to the British minister, showed that he distrusted the sincerity of the men who had proposed it. On the whole, these propositions were made rather with a view to embarrass the ministry than to serve the state.

On this occasion Mr. Flood was unfortunate in quarrelling with his old friends, Mr. Ponsonby* and Mr. Daly. The former had stated that Mr. Flood had exerted himself to support his father's interest against Lord Townshend, and asked him why he had not then opposed the system of profusion. Mr. Flood replied, that if he had supported his father, he was but ill requited, for Mr. Ponsonby had called upon Government to dismiss him, and added, with much asperity, that "he might boast of Whig principles —Whig connections—and Whig friends; but such conduct was a manifestation of *Whig apostacy*."

These expressions occasioned much surprise and indignation among the party who acted with

* Irish Parliamentary Debates, vol. i. Oct. 1783.

Mr. Ponsonby, who satisfied himself by simply denying that he had called for the dismissal of Mr. Flood. This attack upon a party that Mr. Ponsonby was personally and politically connected with, both in Ireland and in England, was unwarranted and unjust. The Whigs had not turned Mr. Flood out of office; they had just restored freedom to Ireland; their leader, Mr. Fox, had acted in the noblest manner; and if his conduct is compared to that of Mr. Pitt, the leader of the opposite party, with whose friends Mr. Flood had now connected himself, Ireland could find no difficulty in deciding to whom the preference should be given.

This attack upon the Whigs injured Mr. Flood in England, and when he went there a few weeks afterwards, he felt it. He found that his fame had gone before him: he lost Mr. Fox; he did not gain Mr. Pitt; and even his friend and patron, the Duke of Chandos, in the ensuing year, most cavalierly, nay, most ignobly, deserted him.

But Mr. Flood is not the only instance where great and splendid talents are to be found devoid of that adhesive quality which cements friendship and connects party. This attack, too, was made at the time that Mr. Flood was returned for the borough of Winchester by the Duke of Chandos, and was one of the representatives of that country which had derived such great benefit from the party against which he now inveighed.

Certainly, in describing the character of the Whigs,

their Irish policy must be carefully distinguished from their English. They were good English patriots, but bad Irish Kings. They seated the House of Hanover on the throne, and kept them there. They had treason and rebellion to contend against; their measures were strong, but they were justified by the necessity of the case. When they disarmed the Highlands, the rebels had advanced near to London, not like modern sedition, but in the armed rebellion of a nation who had abandoned and acted against the principles of the revolution, —*that noble work of metaphysicians, lawyers, and philosophers.*

The Whigs proved two things,—that they could not only effect a great revolution in favour of liberty, but that they would risk their popularity by strong measures in order to preserve it. The Septennial law was a strong measure—an act of power. It afterwards was submitted to and acted on by the people, and became settled law; but it was necessary at the time; it was necessary to keep the family on the throne. It was a reflection no doubt on the people of England, for the people of England were Jacobites; but it showed the steadiness of a party who acted at the risk of their popularity in defence of liberty, in defence of the Bill of Rights, and in defence of the Act of Settlement. Had England been polled, the majority would have restored James the Second, and had James returned, the Bill of Rights would have

been repealed. Let us see the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole. His long peace laid the foundation for the greatness of England; it established her commerce, and enabled the country to go through the seven years' war. The Government of Lord Chatham, which was partly Whig, was glorious for England; but when the Tories came in after, and Lord North governed, they lost America; they proposed a Stamp Act for the colonies, and it ended in an Income Tax on England,—a very proper retribution, and one which shows that there exists a distributive justice, and that Providence not only rewards, but punishes.

Altogether this attack by Mr. Flood was unwise and unfortunate; and if Mr. Ponsonby was to be believed, was quite undeserved. The rencontre which next ensued with Mr. Daly, was more amusing, as they were skilful fencers, more expert, and better matched. Mr. Daly alluded to the Volunteers, that formed the subject of debate on the question of military retrenchment, and said, "To give them praise is but to join the general voice; but I cannot think it would be prudent to leave the defence of the kingdom to a body of men whose slightest motion Government does not direct, and whom the state has not the power to retain embodied for a single hour. Were I to suggest a sentiment to those respectable bands, it is that they should reserve themselves for great occasions, and not listen to the inflam-

matory speeches of men whose wishes are to mislead them." Mr. Flood replied:—"The honourable gentleman has learned his language from his situation, and has soon become an adept in the speeches which flow from office." To which Mr. Daly retorted:—"I do declare I never did make an official speech in my life, and rather than do so, I would follow the example of the honourable gentleman himself, and be silent while in office."*

This was a blow that could not be parried. In fact, Mr. Flood's temper was soured; he had been ill-treated—had lost his office—was dismissed from the privy council, and perhaps had a right to complain that he was not restored. But the truth was, that just at the opening of the Duke of Portland's government, Mr. Flood had generally absented himself from the private meetings of the party, or when he attended, found fault with their measures. The part which he took afterwards, on the simple repeal in June and July, 1782, was a complete breach with Government, and they thought that they could not with any propriety restore him.

As far as regarded Mr. Grattan, it may not be too much to say that some feelings of jealousy existed in his mind; he may perhaps have been vexed to find that a young man whom he had known almost as a boy, and with whom he used to debate

* While in office Mr. Flood seldom took part on the popular subjects that were brought forward.

in private, should have so far outstripped him, as to have effected in less than seven years what had not even been attempted by others in a long political life. But it happened that Mr. Flood disagreed with all his friends,—Yelverton, Bushe, Daly, Ponsonby, and Brown,—and Mr. Grattan was the last on his list. He had, after the spring of 1782, taken a most active part against Mr. Grattan, whose friends informed him, that some of the severest writings with which the press teemed, had proceeded from Mr. Flood's party; and it was reported that he had sent down to Belfast in order to excite the Volunteers against him.

Nothing could exceed the virulence and abuse of the press with which Mr. Grattan was assailed; and certainly if Mr. Flood was not guilty of these acts,—(for it is unjust to suppose that such a man, whose mind like his situation should be elevated and noble, could stoop to aim these hidden blows against his former friend,)—yet it cannot be denied that he gave the tone to that style of attack, and indirectly aided an opposition, which contributed to the sudden change that many of the Volunteers evinced at this period. After 1782, Mr. Flood did Mr. Grattan all the injury he possibly could. Before that he wanted to take from him his motions in Parliament; but this he could not be allowed to do. They had been very intimate formerly; but now Mr. Flood lost all his friends except Mr. Grattan,

who contrived to keep on good terms with him till 1783. Then they differed; and as Mr. Grattan owed him nothing, but found himself still persecuted, he determined to give him the history of his life. This is the secret of those celebrated and severe philippics. They afford a melancholy instance how the noblest minds may be warped by passion or party, and induced to sacrifice their splendid talents at the unholy shrine of thankless politics. Neither party was the gainer by the rupture, and the country was the sufferer.

Mr. Flood had certainly been the cause of much mischief; he deranged the public mind, and sowed the seeds of discontent; he filled the country with alarm, took the people from habits of order and industry, and led the Volunteers totally astray. Lord Charlemont, so early as June, 1782, had expostulated with him on his conduct at that period; and in writing to him upon his visit to the North, where the people had opposed the proceedings of Parliament, he says, "Some are still discontented, and I am sorry for it; but how could it be otherwise when they have the sanction and impression of your opinions—of your eloquence. —Oh, my dear Flood, what are you about?—you never have taken a part so disagreeable to my feelings, because you never till now have done anything that I could not somehow justify to myself and consequently to others. The cry is against you—I do not join in it—friendship forbids

me. But, alas! why must I be silent? why cannot I defend you?"

It was pretty clear that Mr. Flood wanted to annihilate the party. He had injured the opposition, by making the people think their object was merely to bid for popularity; and he had injured the Government, by making the people believe that they were betrayed, that nothing had been done, and that they must apply to England for a Bill of Rights. The session had commenced by an attack upon Government on the old charges of jobbing and peculation; and on the motion of Sir Henry Cavendish, Mr. Flood said the words were too weak, and that they should be, not that the country *required* retrenchment, but "*demanded*" it. He alluded to Mr. Grattan's measures, and spoke of his party and his new friends with severity and scorn. Mr. Grattan, in reply, alluded to him in strong, though not in severe terms; but referring to his conduct on the American question, Mr. Flood got up, indignant, exclaiming, "There was no one with whom he less feared to be compared." The attack was made up of what had appeared in the newspapers for the course of a year—what the *factioneers* had written and resolved, and what they had published against Mr. Grattan; but the passage which was unpardonable was where Mr. Flood exclaimed, "I am not a mendicant patriot, who was bought by my country for a sum of money, then sold her for

prompt payment." This was the blow that rendered the breach irreparable. The fault of the day was invective, but this was what was appropriately termed a *"bloody invective,"—immedicabile vulnus.*

Mr. Grattan, thus challenged, was bound to reply. He knew that petty figures and small antitheses would not do,—that strong arguments and bold facts would be better; he knew Mr. Flood's character, the reach of his understanding, and the history of his life. Mr. Flood was that sort of man, whom a slight attack would not affect; it was useless to wound a lion of that size, and when he was down it was necessary to beat him till he was lifeless. Mr. Grattan accordingly gave him his history, with great severity, no doubt, but unaccompanied by the coarse expressions which were published at the time; and he contrived, by drawing his character as a fictitious one, not to violate the rules of order.

The House was astonished, and on Mr. Flood it seemed to come quite unprepared. He was stunned, looked about, shook his head, and seemed quite bewildered. He shortly after got up, and immediately left the question; and not only fell out of order, but that so outrageously, that the Speaker stopped him. He then said he must make his defence, that the gallery had been cleared, and that it was proper that those who had heard the attack should hear the defence. He named a day for the purpose, and then entered on his defence.

It is perhaps the best statement he ever made, but most of it was nothing to the purpose. It may be true that some administrations deserved support, that others deserved no support, and again others might or might not be supported: such is the doctrine laid down by Gerrard Hamilton in his Parliamentary Logic, and maintained with address and plausibility. But it could not be said that the administration of Lord Townshend was indifferent,—the Augmentation, or the Embargo, indifferent;—these were great national questions. Certainly on the question of freedom Mr. Flood voted with the opposition; but his fault was, that he came too late. He was of too much consequence in the country not to take a decided part; he followed the army, but he should have been in the first rank. Other men would have had a good excuse for not coming forward at once; Flood had none. The following were the observations made by the two opponents on the occasion:—

Mr. Grattan.—I shall not trouble you long, nor take up the time of the House by apologising for bodily infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity; I shall not speak of myself, or enter into defence of my character, having never apostatized.

I think it is not necessary for the House now to investigate what we know to be fact. I think it would be better to go into the business, as the House did upon another occasion, without waiting the formality of the committee's report. As to myself, the honourable reward

that a grateful nation has bestowed upon me, for ever binds me to make every return in my power, and particularly to oppose every unnecessary expense. I am far from thinking with the hon. gentleman, as to the speech, and I believe he will find instances where economy has been recommended from the throne, but prodigality practised. This was the case in Lord Harcourt's administration, which had the support of the hon. gentleman, and therefore he, of all men, cannot be at a loss to reject that illusory economy, which has so often appeared in the speeches of lord-lieutenants. With respect to the Genevese, I never could have thought it possible to give the speech such a bias as has been mentioned, and that people will be deceived, if they give credit to any declamation that infers from the words of the speech, any thing but an honest economy in applying the public money fairly to their use. The nation has derived great honour from this transaction, and I would be sorry to have it tarnished by inference and insinuation.

In 1781, when the burdens of the country were comparatively small, I made a motion similar to this; the hon. gentleman then opposed me. I have his sanction, now, that I was right, and he was wrong; and I say this, that though gentlemen may for a while vote against retrenchments, they may at last see the necessity of them. Yet while I see retrenchment absolutely necessary, I am not very sure that *this is just the time* to make it in the army —now when England has acted justly, I will not say generously,—now when she has lost her empire,—when she still feels the wounds of the late unhappy war, and comforts herself only with the faithful friendship of Ireland. In 1779, when the liberties of Ireland were denied and those of America in danger, it was thought unadvisable to retrench our army. There can be no such reason to reduce

it now, when both are acknowledged and confirmed. When we voted 4000 men to butcher our brethren in America, the hon. gentleman should have opposed that vote; but perhaps he will be able to explain the propriety of sending 4000 Irishmen thither. But why not look for retrenchment in the revenue, and other departments? In my mind, the proper mode would be to form a fair estimate of what would be a reasonable peace establishment, and reduce our several departments to it.

Mr. Flood.—The right hon. member can have no doubt of the propriety of my saying a word in reply to what he has delivered. Every member in the House can bear witness of the infirmity I mentioned, and therefore it showed but little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity. But I am not afraid of the right hon. member; I will meet him any where, or upon any ground, by night or by day. I would stand poorly in my own estimation and my country's opinion, if I did not stand far above him. I do not come here dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people. I am not one who has promised repeatedly to bring in a Bill of Rights, yet does not bring in that bill, or permit any other person to do it. I am not one who threatened to impeach the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business. I am not the author of the simple repeal. I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this House to stifle the voice of the people, which my egregious folly has raised against me. I am not the gentleman who subsists upon your accounts. I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by my country for a sum of money, and then sold my country for prompt payment. I am not the man who in this House loudly complained of an infringement made by England, in including Ireland in

a bill, and then sent a certificate to Dungannon that Ireland was not included. I never was bought by the people, nor ever sold them. The gentleman says he never apostatized; but I say I never changed my principles; let every man say the same, and let the people believe them if they can. But if it be so bad a thing to take an office in the state, how comes that gentleman connected with persons in office? They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how came that gentleman so closely connected with Colonel Fitzpatrick? I object to no man for being in office; a patriot in office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great Duke of Marlborough shrunk and withered before those of the right honourable gentleman; when palaces, superior to Blenheim, were to be built for his reception, when pyramids and pillars were to be raised, and adorned with emblems and inscriptions sacred to his virtue. But the pillars and pyramids are now sunk, though then the great Earl of Chatham was held inferior to him. However, he is still so great, that the queen of France, I dare say, will have a song made on the name of Grattan.

Lord Harcourt practised economy: but what was the economy of the Duke of Portland?—One hundred thousand pounds was voted to raise 20,000 seamen, though it was well known that one-third of that number could not be raised; and what was the application of the money? It was applied to the raising of the execrated Fencibles.

It is said I supported Lord Harcourt's administration; it is true, but I never deserted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman who now hears me, knows that I proposed to the privy council an Irish Mutiny Bill, and that not with a view of any parliamentary grant. I supported an absentee tax; and while I was in office, registered my principles in the books of Go-

vernment; and the moment I could not influence Government to the advantage of the nation, I ceased to act with them. I acted for myself; I was the first that ever told them that an Irish Mutiny Bill must be granted. If this country is now satisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No, the simple repeal, disapproved and scouted by all the lawyers in England and in Ireland, shews the contrary; and the only apology he can make is, that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not make so egregious a mistake; and a man of an honest heart could not persist in it after it was discovered. I have now done; and give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters often into this kind of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session.

Mr. Grattan.—In answer to the hon. member who spoke last, I am obliged to say something. I shall adhere to order as much as possible; it is much more material to observe decorum towards this House than to retort personalities.

The charge brought against me of accepting 50,000*l.* from Parliament is not my affair, but yours. You thought my services deserved it. I will not imitate the hon. member by a display of them, nor will I pay you so ill a compliment as to suppose it necessary to satisfy your unanimous act against any charge of that member.

With respect to a Bill of Rights, I mentioned to this House that the English act then recently passed, called the St. Christopher's Bill, did, I apprehended, extend to Ireland; if so, that it was a breach of compact, and made some measure necessary on the part of Ireland; that I requested to consider in that case whether an Irish Bill of Rights ought not to be introdoced; and if that was the

sense of the House, that I should propose one. A few days after I brought the St. Christopher's Bill to the House, and submitted whether they conceived it to be an infraction on the part of England; but so far from thinking so were gentlemen, there was not one who spoke in the debate that did not disclaim the idea, and declare the act could not be construed to extend to Ireland; (I must observe also that this bill had passed in England before Mr. Fox's motion for a repeal of the Declaratory Act;) and so decided against the necessity of any measure was the House, that a short time after, when a Bill of Rights was introduced, it was rejected almost unanimously, six men only voting for it. I did not introduce a Bill of Rights, therefore, because the only ground for it was a supposed infraction, which was denied. I plainly perceived that such a bill was certain to be rejected by the whole House. It was my duty to give you notice of everything which might be thought an infraction, and then to acquiesce in your judgment. As to the other charge, that I endeavoured by a vote of this House to stifle the voice of the people, it has been basely misstated. The motion was, that every man who in writing or in speech asserted that a right existed, or could be revived in a foreign legislature, to bind this country, was a public enemy. The words of the motion are the best answer to the charge of empty clamour, which I despise.

Sir, it is the misfortune of every man who acts a conspicuous public part to be followed and traduced by men of a malignant and envious mind, who see no merit where they take no part; but it is not the slander or bad tongue of a bad man that can defame me. I maintain my reputation in public and in private life. No man of character can say I ever deceived him—no county has ever called me a cheat. Let me suppose such a man—a man whose con-

stant practice was to abuse every person who differed from him, and to betray every man who trusted him. I will begin with him in his cradle, and follow him to his last state—I will suppose him in the first period of his political life, intemperate; in his second, corrupt; and in his last, seditious;—that after a virulent attack upon the persons and government of a succession of Viceroys, he became reconciled to administration when your expenses had increased, when an embargo was laid on the trade of Ireland, and war declared against the liberties of America. I will suppose this man then to have become silent, and to drop the themes of past invective;—that on the great constitutional question of the Mutiny Bill, when it was made perpetual he absconded, but in a year and a half after the bill had passed that he exclaimed, that we were ruined by a perpetual Mutiny Bill. With respect to Poyning's Law, when money bills were altered session after session, and the altered bill thrown out at one door and introduced at another, I will suppose this man to abscond or acquiesce; yet afterwards when another gentleman undertook the remedy, I will suppose him to exclaim against the grievance, the remedy, and the man who introduced it. As to the repeal of 6 Geo. I. when the question was debating here, I will suppose him silent about renunciation, and not even to divide; but after the repeal was ready for the Royal assent, that he exclaimed against it, and implored the people to be dissatisfied with freedom, because he was not the man who obtained it, and canvassed even in the public street for sedition. I will suppose that he supported the most prodigal measures of the most prodigal administration, and opposed retrenchment; that he supported in this house the ruinous embargo of 1776; that when the inadequate duty on sugar was debating, and an altered Sugar Bill was passed, he absconded; but in a year

or two after exclaimed that we were ruined by it. With respect to the Volunteers, I will suppose that he never was a Volunteer till he ceased to be a Placeman—that he first opposed their institution, and afterwards inflamed them—the last of their friends and the first of their enemies. As to America, I will suppose him to have voted 4000 of the Irish army to fight against her, calling those butchers an *armed negotiation*, and thus, with a metaphor in his mouth and a bribe in his pocket, give a base suffrage against the liberty of America, the eventual liberty of Ireland, and the cause of mankind.

I will suppose this man's honour equal to his oath. I will suppose him an insufferable egotist; I will stop him in his career, and say,—Sir, you are mistaken if you think your talents are as great as your life is infamous. We have seen you a violent opposer of Government, and afterwards on the most trying questions silent—silent for years, and silenced by money; we have seen you haunting this House like a guilty spirit, watching the moment when you should vanish from the question; or you might be descried hovering about this dome like an ill-omened bird of night, with sepulchral note, cadaverous aspect, and a broken beak, watching to stoop and pounce upon your prey; or we have detected you hid behind that chair, to avoid a division, or feigning infirmities to excuse your absence. Influenced by place, or stung by disappointed ambition, we have seen you pursue a course of most manifest duplicity. You can be trusted by no man—the people cannot trust you; the Minister cannot trust you; you have dealt out the most impartial treachery to both, and now you tell the nation she was ruined by others when she was sold by you. You fled from the Mutiny Bill—you fled from the Sugar Bill—you fled from the Six Months' Money Bill—I therefore tell you, in the face of your country, before

all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honest man.

This reply was not published by Mr. Grattan. The argument here stated was sent to his friend Day, as appears from the following letter to that person, and from whom I received it in 1839. The matter having been settled in a hostile manner, it was considered more honourable not to publish the invective.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Tinnehinch, November 12, 1783.

My dear Day,

I enclose you a very imperfect sketch. I wish you would make what verbal alterations you please. All I wish is, not to appear to have delivered the nonsense which the magazine and public prints make me speak. I had rather that an abstract had been given of the invective than the invective itself, because I don't find Mr. Flood has done so; neither do I find that any invective of Lord Chatham, or others, were published by themselves. Whether it would be proper now to publish the very strong and bitter expressions of that just attack, I cannot take it upon me to decide. Let me have your opinion; if you think so, you shall have them. Yours,

H. Grattan.

I apprehend very much that the Parliamentary Register is a copy of the newspapers. If so, it were to be wished such a book were never published, because it perpetuates a libel on the House of Commons. The man who undertakes to publish debates, should undertake to collect them.

After this unpleasant altercation, the parties contrived to leave the house. Mr. Flood was, however, taken into custody, but escaped; and the next morning Mr. Montgomery waited on Mr. Cuffe, Mr. Grattan's friend, with a message. Mr. Grattan stated that he was prepared to go out instantly. Mr. Montgomery stated that Mr. Flood was not ready, as he had not made his will; Mr. Cuffe objected to this, saying that Mr. Grattan had made his will, and that if any delay occurred it was impossible that the parties should remain undiscovered. Mr. Montgomery then returned, and appointed the ensuing day, and named the place, near Marino, close to the road. When Mr. Grattan went there early next morning he found Mr. Flood under arrest; the parties were then bound over in heavy recognizances, and thus this matter ended. Mr. Flood, however, did not remain quiet, and some time after, an address from a Volunteer Corps having been got up by some of his friends, requesting him not to expose his person, Mr. Flood, in his reply, stated that he would follow their advice, and "*consign to impunity the object of contempt.*" Upon this Mr. Grattan sent to ascertain whether Mr. Flood would take advantage of his being bound over? Mr. Montgomery, who was a very brave man, pledged himself that he would not, upon which Mr. Grattan immediately sent Mr. Cuffe to him, and appointed Holyhead as their place

of meeting. The following correspondence took place:—

MR. GRATTAN'S MESSAGE TO MR. FLOOD.

"That the present application has not the smallest reference to the original dispute. That Mr. F. in his answer to the Castlebar Volunteer Corps, has concluded in words as follows:—'That he resigns to impunity the object of contempt;'—that Mr. Grattan conceives these words allude to him; and as he is sensible that a newspaper controversy would not do honour to the characters of either, he, with great reluctance, wishes Mr. F. to fix time and place in any country."

MR. FLOOD'S ANSWER.

"That the answer of Mr. Flood to the address of the Castlebar Volunteers has no reference to the original dispute to which Mr. G. alludes, is a mistake. The address relates principally to the dispute; and the answer necessarily referring to that matter, relates equally to it. Mr F. has already declared his situation to be such, as not to permit him at present to attend further to that business."

Note delivered by Mr. Cuffe to Mr. Montgomery for Mr. Flood.

"That if Mr. Flood does not conceive himself in a capacity to give satisfaction, he should not have given offence; and that Mr. Grattan conceives Mr. F.'s answer as a refusal, and must state it as such if Mr. Flood does not now appoint some certain time."

MR FLOOD'S ANSWER.

"Mr. F.'s answer to the Castlebar address, and his answer to Mr. Grattan's subsequent proposition, do both

signify that Mr. Flood's situation does not permit him at present to conform to Mr. Grattan's idea. Where the impropriety originated, or remains, is not to be decided by Mr. Grattan. Mr. Flood can have no objection to abide by the public opinion."

Mr. Flood having thus declined to apologize, or give the satisfaction required, Mr. Grattan stated he would circulate among his friends the account of the transaction.

General Burgoyne (at that time the commander of the forces in Ireland) alludes to the circumstance in the following letter to Mr. Fox. As to the statement of the 50,000*l.* being left back to the public, it seems confirmed by the ultimate disposition of this property in his will of 1820, where in failure of issue he leaves the estates purchased under the vote and resolution of the House of Commons, to purposes of charity for the support of the poor of Dublin, and the erection of houses or refuge for the indigent.

GENERAL BURGOYNE TO MR. FOX.*

Royal Hospital, Oct. 31*st*, 1783.

My Dear Charles,

I received a call as to the opening of Parliament, signed by you. I shall not obey it unless I hear from you parti-

* This was the individual who had met with a sad reverse when opposed by the Americans at Saratoga, in 1777. He was, however, an officer of unquestioned courage, and his skill was in much repute. He was a man of fortune, possessed of talent and humour, and an agreeable writer. The English opposition had taken his part in Parliament, and he was sent to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief. His opinion as to the catholics does not appear very liberal.

cularly. To other persons I might add the apprehensions that timid and melancholy politicians entertain upon the meeting of the conventional delegates on the 10th of next month. I have myself not any idea of serious commotion, but we have strengthened the garrison of Dublin, and it might be thought wrong by the commander-in-chief to be absent. You have, doubtless, the fullest information of the proceedings and language of the Bishop of Derry, and the mode by which the friends of Government mean to meet the question of parliamentary reform, if urged upon them by application to parliament. I take for granted you are far from discountenancing the abstract question of parliamentary reform *here* as well as in England. I am impatient for the settlement or the prevention of this natural object, however desirable in itself, upon the principle of the Dungannon meeting, and under the influence of an armed force.

Much difference of opinion also prevails on the conduct that respectable characters, lovers of the constitution, and of the good order of the state, ought to hold on the 10th of November. They being delegates, chosen in their absence, and without their consent, ought they to appear and to debate against the illegality of the meeting thinking it such?—or, ought they entirely to deprive it of their sanction by absenting themselves? Conolly, who is one of the body, is clearly for the latter measure.

I now come to the subject which will greatly interest your curiosity—the invective between Grattan and Flood, in the House, on Tuesday last. The papers will give you the outline, but they are inaccurate in many of the expressions, particularly in the most severe; and the determined look and action on each side, was even more emphatic than the words. Can you believe that the House heard this for upwards of two hours without interfering?

On the contrary, every one seemed to receive enjoyment as his favourite gladiator gave or parried a stroke; and when the chair did at last interfere, they were suffered, by an inattention which seemed on purpose, to withdraw themselves. The sheriffs were afterwards ordered to arrest them—Grattan effectually hid, but Flood was taken into custody, and again let go by the sheriffs.

I believe the following account of the subsequent proceedings is pretty correct:—On Wednesday evening Mr. Montgomery, on the part of Mr. Flood, applied to Mr. Cuffe, the designed second of Grattan, and began by asking if he saw any prospect of accommodation through the intervention of friends. Cuffe answered, he was sure Grattan would make no apology. Montgomery said, he was then instructed to settle with him time and place. Cuffe said, *the place* Mr. Flood chose, and the time if *he* thought proper, in five minutes, for he knew his friend had made his will the night before; that he was married to an amiable woman, to whom suspense would be cruel, and he prayed, among other things, for a speedy decision. Montgomery acknowledged that he was not authorized to agree to a meeting earlier than the next morning—Thursday. He went back, and returned with a confirmation of Flood's desire of Thursday, for the purpose of settling private affairs. Grattan changed his abode to prevent being put under arrest. On Thursday morning early, the two combatants were served under Lord Chief Justice's warrant, and bound over for two years to keep the peace. How the intelligence of the place of meeting was obtained, cannot be known; probably, the principals were both innocent of the discovery; but the general tenor of Grattan's conduct certainly acquits him. This day Flood appeared in the House—Grattan did not. Whether they go over to-night by the packet for the decision, or Flood,

the challenger, rests content under the recognizance in the kingdom of Ireland, time only can show. I shall conclude this with a trait, that I have good reason to believe is true, and that I think is very consistent with Grattan's character, viz., that in the will made on Tuesday night, he left the 50,000*l.* to the public, charged only with an annuity for life to Mrs. Grattan, of 800*l.*

Sincerely yours,

J. BURGOYNE.

CHAPTER IV.

The National Convention for Reform—Mr. Fox's letter to the Lord Lieutenant respecting it—His remarks on the Renunciation Bill—The settlement of 1782—The volunteers—The business of Portugal, and the concessions to Ireland—His opinion on advancing Mr. Scott and Mr. Fitzgibbon to office—His letter to General Burgoyne on Irish affairs, on the conduct of the Volunteer Convention and the dangers arising therefrom—General Burgoyne's letter to Mr. Fox—Meeting of the Delegates on the 10th November, 1783—Lord Charlemont elected chairman—Seeds of discontent attempted to be sown by a pretended message from the Roman Catholics—Sir Patrick Bellew and the Roman Catholics disown it—Their resolutions—Lord Kenmare and Sir Boyle Roche's letters on the subject—Conduct of Mr. Flood—Lords Charlemont, Aldborough, and others, offer to give up their boroughs—Mr. Flood's speech in the Convention—Letter of General Burgoyne to Mr. Fox respecting the Convention, and application of the Catholics—Lord Lieutenant's (Northington) letter to Mr. Fox respecting Mr. Flood—The affairs of Ireland, and Mr. Fitzgibbon's promotion.

The Convention took its origin from the following circumstances :—In England the question of Reform had been supported by Mr. Pitt, and was the means of his accession to office. It was taken up afterwards by the people, under the administration of Lord Shelburne, at the end of 1782; and associations were formed in various parts of England, in order to carry into effect their object. Individuals who heretofore exhibited no interest for Ireland in all her contests for liberty, and her efforts to make

her parliament independent, seemed suddenly to awaken and become metamorphosed; the British reformer became an Irish patriot. These persons applied to Ireland, and entered into communication with the Volunteers of the north, the "Yorkshire Association" and the "London Constitutional Knowledge Society;" passed various resolutions respecting the Volunteers of Ulster; and in their letters urged the Irish to hold a convention of delegates from the four provinces, in order to reform the Irish parliament, whose legislative independence had never hitherto elicited either a friendly resolution, or a sympathetic expression, and for supporting the trade and commerce of whose country, the electors of Bristol had deprived of his seat in Parliament one of the greatest ornaments of the kingdom.*

By these various practices the Irish Volunteers were deceived and led into error by false guides, who felt little concern in thus involving them with the Parliament. Mr. Henry Joy, jun.,† of Belfast, took a very active part on this occasion, as secretary for the northern reformers; he entered into a correspondence, and published a series of resolutions and exhortations to the people on the subject.

Accordingly, in the month of July, 1783, de-

* Edmund Burke. See his Letter to the electors of Bristol.

† This person was not Chief Baron Joy (as stated in the Sketches of an Irish Barrister); he belonged to another branch of the family; they were first cousins.

legates from several corps in Ulster, called together a general assembly of those of that province for the 8th of September, and 500 delegates from 272 corps met at the dissenters' meeting-house, at Belfast. Mr. Flood travelled from Dublin to attend it, but was taken ill on the road, and unable to appear. Lord Bristol (Bishop of Derry) was present, and under his sanction they resolved that the imperfect state of the representation in Parliament was an intolerable grievance; they issued an address to the Volunteers of the three provinces, and concluded by calling on them to hold a congress, and produce a plan of reform, and demand their rights,—robbed of which, "the forms of a free government would be a curse, and existence cease to be a blessing." In the same strain they passed a resolution in admiration of the English and Scotch reformers. Leinster, Munster, and Connaught met in succession, and the four provinces appointed four delegates from each county as their representative body.

In consequence of this appeal, the provinces assembled, and at the Leinster meeting Mr. Peter Burrows,* that distinguished lawyer and most able of advocates, proposed the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise. This, however, was objected to, and when the question was after-

* This individual was one of Mr. Grattan's intimate friends. He possessed the clearest head, the soundest judgment; his opinion was invaluable; in the Irish Parliament he acted at the Union a noble part; his panegyric on Mr. Grattan was beautiful and sublime.

wards introduced in the convention, there arose such a variety of opinions that it was thought prudent to avoid the subject. Thus the great mass of the people were omitted in Mr. Flood's plan, so that it was only an extension of the borough system; his opposition to the Catholics prevented its being a complete reform.

It is worth observing, that the lawyers who were most prominent and vociferous at this period, and in the preceding one, on the subject of simple repeal, proved afterwards least friendly to Ireland and her liberties—Sir S. Bradstreet, Mr. Joy, Mr. Smith, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Downes, and others, many of whom got business by courting the people, as they afterwards got power by courting the Government.

The proceedings of these delegates occasioned, as appears from subsequent letters, considerable alarm in England. Mr. Pitt, when he was in office, had written to the Irish Government on the subject, but the style of his communication was very different from that of Mr. Fox: the latter showed the goodness of his heart, and the mildness of his disposition; full of candour, and free from the cunning of a politician, the paternal anxiety he expressed, and the regret at the situation to which things seemed to be approaching, do him infinite credit. On a question, whether England or Ireland should be defeated, between these two great calamities, he said he did not

know which to feel or which to deprecate most. But in the letters of Mr. Pitt, there was a sternness and a severity ill suited to a popular character, still more to a reformer; they were, to use Mr. Grattan's phrase, "*all case-hardened*;" his idea was not to yield in the least; he disliked the Volunteers, and censured them severely. His letters were sent to Mr. Grattan, and the impression they produced on his mind was far from favourable.

MR. FOX TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

11, *St. James's Place*, 1*st Nov.* 1783.

My Dear Northington,

I believe it is a better excuse, and I am sure it is a truer one, for having so long postponed my letter to you,—to say, that it is owing to idleness rather than business. The few moments one has just before the opening of the most terrific Session of Parliament that ever was held, are too valuable to be employed in anything that looks so very like business as writing. Since my return from Newmarket, I have put off writing from day to day, in order to be more perfectly master of those topics on which I mean to write to you, and which are of infinite importance, not only to the credit of our administration, but to the well-being of the country.

And first with respect to the Volunteers and their delegates. I want words to express to you how *critical*, in the genuine sense of the word, I conceive the present moment to be: unless they dissolve in a reasonable time, Government, and even the name of it, must be at an end. This, I think, will hardly be disputed. Now it appears to me, that upon the event of this present

Session of your Parliament this question will entirely depend. If they are treated as they ought to be — if *you shew firmness*, and that firmness is seconded by the *aristocracy* and Parliament — I look to their dissolution as a certain and not very distant event; if otherwise, I reckon their Government, or rather *Anarchy*, as firmly established as such a thing is capable of being. But your Government is certainly completely annihilated. If you ask me what I mean by *firmness*, I have no scruple in saying that I mean it in the strictest sense, and understand by it the determination not to be swayed in the slightest degree by the Volunteers, not even to attend to any petition that may come from them. This sounds violent; but I am clear it is right; for if they can pretend, with any plausibility, that they have carried any one point, it will be a motive for their continuing in their present state, and they will argue thus: "We carried this this year, let us go on as we have done, and we shall carry some other point in the next." Immense concessions were made in the Duke of Portland's time, and these concessions were declared by an almost *unanimous* House of Commons to be sufficient. The account must be considered as having been closed on the day of that vote, and should never again be opened upon any pretence whatsoever.

It is true that the bill we passed here last year does not agree with my system; but you know the history of that bill, and the stage in which it was when we came in, otherwise I am satisfied it never would have passed; at least, I am sure it could not, without the strongest opposition from the Duke of Portland and me. It is possible I may be told these are fine words, but that to act up to them is impossible. It may be so; but every information I have had from Ireland leads me to think that the spirit and firmness of the aristocracy will

depend entirely on the degree shewn of it in the Castle. Recollect that this is a crisis. Peace is the natural period of the Volunteers, and if they are encouraged to subsist for any considerable period after this time, all is gone, and our connexion with Ireland is worse than none at all

I have so high an opinion of Grattan's integrity and love of his country, that I cannot persuade myself that he can see the present situation in any other light than that in which I do. Volunteers, and soon, possibly, volunteers without property, will be the only Government in Ireland, unless they are *faced* this year in a manful manner; and there is no man, in conscience and honour, so much bound to face them as Grattan himself. He has employed a dangerous instrument for honourable purposes. Now that these purposes are fully answered by his own declaration, in the vote before alluded to, is he not peculiarly bound to take care that so dangerous a weapon should no longer remain in unskilful, or perhaps wicked hands, to be employed for objects as bad as his were just and honourable? England justly relied much on his opinion that they would be satisfactory in making the concessions in 1782, and therefore he is bound to England for the Irish part of the bargain, which was nothing more than to be satisfied. I heard with great satisfaction from Serjeant Adair that Grattan, though a friend to the Parliamentary Reform, would take a wise distinction upon the manner in which it comes to the consideration of Parliament, and oppose it steadily upon that ground; but from what the Duke of Portland read to me from Pelham's letter, I do not think this appears quite so certain. I know your natural inclination is to firmness, perhaps much more so than mine is, and therefore I hope all I have said on the subject is superfluous; but I am so perfectly convinced this is the crisis of the fate of Ireland, that I cannot help dwelling upon it.

The Volunteers never were, depend on it, so considerable as they were represented. Their having chosen a madman* for their head, of whose honesty too there is one opinion, and their having laid their chief stress upon a point on which there is so much real difference of opinion in both countries, and which militates as much against the interest of the prevailing influences in Parliament, are circumstances which must have weakened them. If they are resisted, I am satisfied they will be defeated, and I cannot bring myself to think that much is risked in the trial; for if they are suffered to carry their points by timidity and acquiescence, it is as much over with English Government in Ireland, in my judgment, as if they had carried them by force.

All other points appear to me to be trifling in comparison of this great one of the Volunteers; but I will trouble you with a few observations upon some other. In regard to annual sessions, I own, I do not think they are so very material, and in some respects perhaps I see some advantages arising to Government from them. You must have misunderstood Lord North if you considered yourself either as precluded from consenting to them, or even from proposing them by your friends in Parliament. The propriety of such a measure was meant to be left to your discretion; but it was the mentioning them in your speech that was objected to, and I own I concurred in this objection. But if I imagined that you thought this form of proposing them to be as material as I now suspect you did, I should have been of another opinion. I wish, therefore, for the future, when you write for instructions on material points—that you and Pelham would write a private letter to the Duke of Portland or me, letting us know how far you consider each point as important to your plans or

* The Bishop of Derry.

arrangements. If we considered that you conceived the mentioning that point in your speech to be of this nature, I have no doubt but your instructions would have been agreeable to your wishes.

With respect to some other points which have been discussed amongst us to-day, perhaps the same observation will hold. I own I think the production of Pinto's paper* to the House *formally* a very exceptionable measure; but if you, on the spot, judge it necessary, my opinion will alter. However, I must say that it would be a very dangerous precedent, and tend very much to embarrass persons in my situation in all future negociations. You will understand, however, that my objection is to the *formal* production of it. I have no objection whatever to Pelham's informing the House correctly of all that has passed, and even reading Pinto's memorial, as part of his speech, if he chooses it. My objection is to the grounding of a proceeding upon a memorial of a foreign minister, which, in my opinion, ought never to be done except in cases of going to war, or of censuring a minister. However, this may be given up to any necessary conveniency, though certainly it ought not to be done; but no conveniency would justify, in my opinion, the laying before Parliament the definitive treaties, preliminaries, &c. &c. And if they are now produced, who can say they shall not be discussed, and addresses shall not be moved on them, and that the opinions of the two kingdoms who made them be diametrically opposite? The responsibility here can only be to the British Parliament; and to lay treaties before an assembly to whom we are not responsible, would only be an idle compliment at least, but might be in the end productive of some of the worst consequences, which are to be found under the

* This relates to the trade with Portugal.

peculiar relations in which the two kingdoms now stand one to another.

I hope, my dear Northington, you will not consider this long letter as meant to blame your conduct; but I think I owe it as much to my friendship for you as to the public, to give you fairly my opinion and advice in your most arduous situation; and I will fairly own that there is one principle which seems to run through your different *dispatches*, which a little alarms me: it is this—you seem to think as if it were absolutely necessary at the outset of your government, to do something that may appear to be obtaining *boons*, however trifling to Ireland; and what I confess I like still less, is to see that this is in some degree grounded upon the ampleness of former concession. Now I see this in quite a different light, and reason that because these concessions were so ample, no further ones are necessary. If, because the Duke of Portland gave much, are you to give something?—Consider how this reasoning will apply to your successor. I repeat it again, the account must be considered as closed in 1782. Ireland has no right to expect from any Lord Lieutenant to carry any more points for her. Convenient and proper regulations will always be adopted for their own sakes, and stand upon their own ground. But *boons*, *gifts*, and *compliments*, Ireland has no right to expect. She has more to fear from us than we from her. Her linen trade, which is her staple, depends entirely on the protection of this country. I do not mean by saying this, that menaces ought to be used, but neither ought we, in our present situation, to pay her too much court. This country is reduced low enough, God knows; but depend on it, if we shall be tried—if, year after year we are to hear of granting something new, or acquiescing in something new for the sake of pleasing Ireland, I am sure you must feel as I do on the subject. But situated

as you are among Irishmen, who, next to a job for themselves, love nothing so well as a job for their country, and hardly ever seeing any one who talks to you soundly on our side of the question, it is next to impossible but you must fall insensibly into Irish ideas, more than we who see the converse of the picture, and who, of course, are much more sensible to the reproaches of this country than of that. Ireland appears to me now, to be like one of her most eminent jobbers, who, after having obtained the Prime Serjeantcy, the Secretaryship of State, and twenty other great places, insisted upon the Lord-Lieutenant adding a Major's half pay to the rest of his emoluments.* I hear many of our friends disapprove of the idea of advancing Scott and Fitzgibbon: you know I am no enemy to coalitions; but take care, when you are giving great things to oblige those to whom you are giving them, that you do not strengthen an enemy instead of gaining a friend.

I repeat it again, my dear Northington, if anything should appear in this long and hastily written letter, bearing some shades of dissatisfaction, you will attribute it to the earnest manner in which I am used to write and to speak, and to the sincerity and openness I owe you.

I have no doubt you have done what is best, but the times are so critical that I cannot help speaking anxiously and eagerly, on points on which, in my judgment, depend the future happiness of both kingdoms.

I am very sincerely, my dear Northington,

Yours,

C. J. Fox.

MR. FOX TO GENERAL BURGOYNE.

7th Nov. 1783.

I return you my thanks, my dear Burgoyne, for your

* Hutchinson; but this is an exaggerated statement.

account of Grattan and Flood. We do not here, at this instant, know any thing further of the affair, but it seems to be the general opinion that it must terminate in a duel.

Now, as to the Irish affairs, upon which my opinion is as decided as possible, and on which I can therefore write without hesitation. If either the parliamentary reform, in any shape, however modified, or any other point claimed by the Bishop of Derry and his Volunteers, be conceded, Ireland is irretrievably lost *for ever*;—and this would be my opinion, if I were as fond of the measures themselves as their most enthusiastic admirers. The question is not whether this or that measure shall take place, but whether the Constitution of Ireland, which Irish patriots are so proud of having established, shall exist, or whether the Government shall be purely military, as ever it was under the Prætorian bands. If the Volunteers are baffled, they must, in the nature of things, dissolve, or bring it to an immediate crisis,—upon the event of which, supposing Parliament to be silent, I do not believe that you can entertain any serious apprehension. If, on the contrary, they prevail on any one point, it will be a rational and a forcible motive for their continuing till another session, in order to gain others; and so on to the end of the chapter, as long as human ingenuity can discover anything to complain of. I will fairly own that I am exceedingly concerned to find a distinction taken on the mode in which they may or may not apply to Parliament. If they should petition in the most humble strain, it would, in my opinion, make no difference; and there can be but one measure, either for dignity or safety, and that measure, from Serjeant Adair's report, I am now led to hope could be taken. I am therefore the more disappointed at finding so little prospect of its taking place, from the letters I have lately seen from Dublin. The measure I mean is a decla-

ration against *men* taking into consideration the request of persons met in arms in Dublin, for the *avowed* purpose of obtaining their ends by force. I say *avowed*, because however humble their application may be, they have avowed their intentions by their resolutions. If Grattan, or any others, feel any difficulty in treating the Volunteers in this tone, from the use they formerly made of them, I must say, their feelings are not only different from mine, but diametrically opposite. Those who have used dangerous weapons for good purposes, are most bound to take care, when the object is attained, that no bad is made of those weapons. I presume what Grattan meant, and all the real patriots with him, was, that Ireland should be *free*. How will their purposes be answered, and what will they not feel themselves responsible for, if the means they used for obtaining liberty are converted into engines of tyranny, in its worst shape? Did they not make that very round demand in 1782, and did not England make that ample and correspondent concession, for the direct and avowed purpose of precluding the necessity of future demands and concessions? and was it not fairly to be understood that after the settlement which then took place, no grievance remained of a nature to justify any forcible or unconstitutional exertions? Was not this expressed in nearly the unanimous vote of Parliament? And are not those most peculiarly bound to support that vote, who have produced the situation of things which made that vote a truth? If it be said, that this is no question between England and Ireland, and consequently that the vote does not apply to it, I answer, that nothing but a question between the two countries can justify the mode of proceeding by volunteers, and especially when no actual grievance exists; and when there is not the least ground for accusing the House of Commons, hitherto untried, of

inattention to the wishes of their constituents. In one word, are any of the points in question of sufficient importance to balance the inconvenience and danger of an armed force like the volunteers? If they are not, it matters not whether they are right or wrong in themselves; they should be rejected as long as they are asked in *a manner* which is of so much more consequence than the matter of anything now in question.

I have already written to Northington my thoughts very fully; and you will see by my labouring the points so much, how very anxious they are upon this subject. It is a crisis, you may depend upon it. I firmly believe that a proper spirit exerted now, is the only possible chance of saving us from a total separation, or *civil war*—between which two evils I have not the firmness to choose.

I could write on for ever on this subject, for it is in my heart as much as it is in my head. The thought of this country receiving her final stroke of annihilation in my administration, is more than I am able to bear; and that it will do so, I am convinced, if you relax in any degree. You suppose me to know more than I do of your plans of government. I know nothing of them. I do not say this as meaning to blame; but Northington and Pelham are too much taken up to write private letters to the Duke of Portland or me. And in the public letters there is little respecting future plans. I am sure the Lord Lieutenant is a man of spirit, and on this I ground my hopes, for I have none from the spirit of the Irish gentlemen, who ought to feel themselves still more concerned than we are in the event. They will all give timid advice; but if firmness is shewn at the Castle, they would be loth to advise.

Adieu, my dear Burgoyne. I would not have tired you with long prose if I had thought less seriously than I do

upon the present crisis. Believe me, most sincerely and affectionately yours, CHAS. JAS. FOX.

On the 10th of November, 160 delegates from the Volunteer Associations of Ireland assembled at the Exchange of Dublin, Lord Bristol (Bishop of Derry) appearing among them in great state and parade; from thence they proceeded to the Rotunda through ranks of volunteers, who lined the streets, with arms presented and colours flying. Lord Charlemont very fortunately was elected Chairman of the Convention. Mr. Flood, though unwell, attended. The Bishop of Derry proposed that a committee of one member from each county should draw up a plan of reform, which was afterwards to be submitted to the Convention. This was agreed to.

The next day, when the meeting assembled, the seeds of dissension, which had been sown with much industry for the purpose of embarrassing their proceedings, now began to show themselves. Mr. Ogle stated that he had received a letter from a Roman Catholic peer, Lord Kenmare, purporting, as he said, to express the sentiments of the Roman Catholics in general, and that they were willing to relinquish all idea of pressing any further claim on the Legislature. This arrangement arose from the interference of Sir Boyle Roche and some of the partizans of the Government. Mr. Ogle was not friendly to the Roman Catholics, and Lord Kenmare was a weak

man. This was one of the many instances proving how easily some Roman Catholics could be duped, and their rights be made a plaything in the hands of insincere friends, or real enemies; and this is now fully confirmed by the disclosures of Lord Northington's letter of the 17th of November to Mr. Fox.

However, on the third meeting of the Convention, an explanation on this subject was made by Sir Boyle Roche, who then held the office of Chamberlain at the Castle, and was of some repute as the *Jester* of the House of Commons, and certainly a person well calculated to throw a ludicrous light on any subject. He stated that the message which Mr. Ogle had brought from Lord Kenmare had been communicated by him, and to the following effect:—That having heard it was intended to be moved in that assembly that the Roman Catholics should be admitted to a share in the Legislature, by a participation of the right of voting for members of Parliament, he had come, on the part of Lord Kenmare and others of his particular friends of the same persuasion, to disavow on their part any wish of being concerned in the business of elections; at the same time, they desired to return thanks to those gentlemen who intended to have interested themselves in their behalf; but fully sensible of the favours which had been already bestowed on them by Parliament, their only desire

at this time was to enjoy them in peace, without seeking in the present distracted state of affairs to raise jealousies, and farther embarrass the nation by asking for new ones. After this declaration had been read, the Bishop of Bristol submitted to the consideration of the Convention, a paper wholly at variance with it.

November 11, 1783.

At a meeting of the general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved that the message relating to us delivered this morning to the National Convention was totally unknown to and unauthorized by us.

That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind as by our own act to prevent the removal of our shackles.

That we will receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the Legislature, and are thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their generous efforts in our behalf.

Resolved, That Sir Patrick Bellew be requested to present the foregoing resolutions to the Earl of Bristol, as the act of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and entreat that his Lordship will be pleased to communicate them to the National Convention.

This very proper, sensible, and just declaration, was laid upon the table. Some difference of opinion arose, and much embarrassment was likely to ensue, the more so as it appeared Lord Kenmare had disavowed what Sir Boyle Roche

had stated. The Convention, however, very prudently adjourned the consideration of the subject, and it was not afterwards renewed. Thus they steered clear of a very great difficulty: they avoided the Catholic question, and escaped the snare that had been laid for them. Lord Kenmare's letter on the subject was rather singular, and not very explicit:—

November 20, 1783.

I utterly disavow having given the least authority to any person for making use of my name before the National Convention, now assembled in Dublin. I never was consulted, nor did I ever consult with any person on the expectation of future indulgences to the Roman Catholics this session, being resolved to abide contented by whatever the wisdom of the Legislature should in that case determine, grateful for the past, and resigned to future events.

KENMARE.

Shortly afterwards Sir Boyle Roche gave the following extraordinary account of his conduct in the transaction:—

DEAR SIR,

As much has been said in regard to the message I delivered in the name of Lord Kenmare, and many of my near connections of the same persuasion, to the armed Convention, now that that assembly has for some time broken up, and the violence of party in some measure subsided, I think it incumbent on me to explain my conduct on that occasion to my friends, and to yourself in particular.

I had long observed the court which was paid by a certain party to the Roman Catholics, and had remarked, with concern, the facility with which the lower sort suffered themselves to be duped by the insidious pretences of those who, I believe, meant them no other favour but that of being last devoured. The Bishop of Derry and his associates had made them to believe that the resolutions of the Convention were to be the law of the land; and they were taught to look up to that assembly for those future favours which the legislative body, from whom they had already received so many indulgences, had alone a power to grant; but these indulgences they were encouraged to forget, and to found their future hopes of success on the wild projects of the Bishop of Derry and his associates.

On the evening of the 9th November last, I had certain intelligence, that the Bishop of Derry had leagued himself with some of the unthinking part of the Catholics, who were in town for the purpose; and that the admission of that body to the rights of voting for members of Parliament, was to be the first matter agitated in the Convention. I now thought that the crisis was arrived, in which Lord Kenmare and the heads of that body should step forth to disavow those wild projects, and to profess their attachment to the lawful powers. Unfortunately, his lordship was at a great distance; and most of my other noble friends were out of the way. I, therefore, resolved on a bold stroke; and authorised only by a knowledge of the sentiments of the persons in question, I entered the Convention on the first day of its meeting, and there delivered that message to Lord Charlemont, of which you have seen so full an account; and confirmed the same the Friday following, having obtained permission to address the assembly.

At first, I was elated to the greatest degree, at the apparent success of my undertaking. I found that I had entirely disconcerted the measures of the leaders of the Convention; and though I was disavowed by the Roman Catholic committee, I received the thanks of many of my noble friends. I was applauded by the Lord Lieutenant, the Secretary, and all the men in power; and I found by their discourse, that there was nothing consistent with the constitution, that the Roman Catholics, for the sake of Lord Kenmare and his friends, might not expect from Parliament.

But unhappily, the clamour of the deluded populace induced his lordship to disown me. I cannot blame him—he had in strictness, a right to do so. This made me miserable, not only because I had displeased him, but because I feared that he and the rest of the Catholics had by this means forfeited the advantages I had obtained for them. However, in these mortifying circumstances, it was still a consolation to me to find that his lordship, in the very words of his disavowal, had acknowledged the same sentiments I had declared in his name; and as I know he and his friends still adhere to the same moderate opinions and wishes, I flatter myself that their wisdom will prevail over the deluded multitude, and that Government will for their sake further extend its indulgence to the whole body; especially if the heads of the sect could be induced, on the arrival of a new Lord Lieutenant, or on the establishment of the present one, to join in an address, not only of loyalty to the King, but of attachment to the present constitution without *innovation*.

It would be flattering in the highest degree to me, if I should find that my conduct was not disapproved by yourself and friends, and that you joined me in opinion, that it is to the Parliament alone, that the Roman Catholics

should apply for future powers; and as I have again the honour to be a member of that assembly, my endeavours shall be at all times, as before, exerted in their behalf, and I hope not without success. I have the honour to be,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Dublin Castle, 14*th Feb.* 1784. B. ROCHE.

The object of this underhand and discreditable proceeding, was to embarrass the Convention; to prevent the Catholics from joining it, or taking part in the question of Reform. But although there was in that assembly a difference of opinion respecting their claims, yet there existed much liberality and a friendly disposition towards the Catholics. This was apparent on the occasion of Doctor O'Leary's visit, when the Volunteer Guard turned out and received him with presented arms. He was introduced with much ceremony, and amidst loud cheers, and warmly applauded by several of the speakers.

Adopting the forms of Parliament, the Convention then resolved itself into "a committee of the whole House," to receive the resolutions of the sub-committee, which were to be the basis of the Reform, the consideration of which occupied nine days. The Bishop of Derry was disappointed in not being selected chairman, but his politics were considered too violent. The individuals who took the most active part, were Mr. Flood, the Bishop of Derry, Mr. Ogle, Lord Farnham, Mr. Brown-

low, Mr. Stewart (of Killymoon), Mr. Edgeworth, Mr. Bagnall, and Sir Edward Newenham.

Pending the debates, a question arose respecting the compensation which might be expected to be given for the loss of boroughs; on which occasion the individuals who were members of the Convention, and who were possessed of that species of property,—for so it was considered,—voluntarily offered to throw them open to the people. These were Lord Charlemont, Lord Aldborough, Sir Vesey Colclough, the Hon. Hugh Massey, Mr. Barnard, and Mr. Flood. Such was the effect of a strong popular feeling operating upon generous minds. How different from the proceedings adopted a few years after, when fifteen thousand pounds a-piece was given to the borough-holders, and a million and a half was thus paid for the purchase of the Parliament, and the sale of the country!*

The thanks of the Convention were returned to these individuals for their public spirited conduct. At length the resolutions which were to form the ground-work of the Bill were adopted, and Mr. Flood was requested to introduce into Parliament a Bill for the more equal representation of the people; he accordingly said that he would on the ensuing day move in the House of Commons for leave to bring it in; and, to add dignity to

* One of the modes by which Lord Clare and Lord Castlereagh carried the Union.

their measures, he hoped they would remain in solemn assembly till he came back from the House. This, however, they very wisely declined to do, as the House of Commons remained in debate the entire of the night, and sat even part of Sunday morning.

Mr. Flood's idea was, that the Convention should not be dissolved; on the contrary, he stated that the delegates in the different provinces should send up information, and from their local knowledge, advise the delegates in the Convention to instruct the members carrying on the bill: "Let 50,000 armed men," he exclaimed, "followed by 50,000 more, without the voice of faction, follow up their principle." These sentiments of Mr. Flood seemed rather strong, even for the Bishop of Derry; and he observed, that the matter was to be agitated in another assembly, and *that something ought to be left to their discretion.*

In the measure of reform proposed, there were some good points, but on the whole it was singularly deficient. What it omitted is as remarkable as what it adopted. It excluded the Catholics, the great and increasing body of the people, from voting as electors, as well as from sitting as members; it admitted leaseholders to vote in towns, but not in counties; it limited the duration of Parliament to three years; it excluded persons holding pensions during pleasure; it rejected the voting by ballot, and imposed an oath against bribery, to be

administered to each member before he took his seat.

Mr. Flood was supposed to have been the chief framer of this measure; and it is worthy of remark, that he afterwards proposed in the English House a proposition for parliamentary reform, which Mr. Fox pronounced the best that had been yet suggested; but the great error of Mr. Flood's Irish plan was, that it excluded the people, and to such a degree, that all the voters it proposed to admit would probably not have amounted to more than 300 in the North of Ireland, and about 100 in the South; which would in fact have been no constituency at all: it would have ceased to be a monopoly; it might have been an oligarchy; but it certainly would not have been popular representation.

GENERAL BURGOYNE TO MR. FOX.

Royal Hospital, Nov. 8th, 1783.

My Dear Charles,

It is thought advisable by all the defenders of Government that I should be present here for the purpose of their consulting me personally, should occasion require. The convention of the delegates begins the same time, and were any disturbance to arise among the populace, Lord Northington, I know, would wish for my presence. I have the utmost satisfaction in adding my fullest confidence that nothing unpleasing to Government is to be apprehended. The Bishop of Derry has found very little encouragement in his progress, and was received with gaping coldness, at the least, and in some streets with derision. There is great alarm, much discord of opinion,

and some evident despair, among the parties; and the general opinion is that, amidst the various discussions, among which many will be very wild, they will throw the business back again upon county meetings. I hear to-day that the Bishop talks of leaving Dublin before the end of the week.

Lord Northington tells me the apprehensions respecting the Volunteers are strong in London. I hear from others that reports have been circulated of insults offered to the regiments landed in the north. It is so much the reverse that every regiment is full of acknowledgment for the cordiality of their reception. Both men and officers have received free quarters from the inhabitants in every place, and perfect cordiality in all.—Most faithfully yours,

J. BURGOYNE.

On the 10th of November, Lord Northington wrote to Mr. Fox that the delegates were in consultation, that the Bishop was not espoused by the populace, and that he was much chagrined at it.

MR. FOX TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

14*th Nov.*, 1783.

DEAR NORTHINGTON,

We shall be impatient to hear further accounts of the delegates; and in the meantime I am infinitely pleased to hear that the Bishop of Derry is disappointed in his hopes from the populace; and I feel much disposed to be sanguine on the affairs in general, provided always that the proper spirit is shewn, and that Grattan acts as he ought.

Yours very sincerely,

CHAS. JAS. FOX.

GENERAL BURGOYNE TO MR. FOX.

(Private) *Royal Hospital, Nov. 17th,* 1783.

I had yesterday a very long conversation with Lord Northington, in which he communicated to me all you had written relative to this strange crisis. I neither doubt his capacity nor his spirit; but I believe the true reasons for his not taking up the matter in Parliament have been —first, the backwardness of those who ought to have taken the lead in the House; next, the weak state of the military force till very lately; and lastly, that the meeting of the delegates had appearances of such diversity of sentiment and jarring interests, as would effectuate its own speedy dissolution; and should it not, it was thought to be time for Parliament to come forward with a declaration, on whatever manner the convention proceeded. I believe Lord Northington and Pelham, and a great and respectable majority of both Houses, to be firm with you in the argument you urge with such insurmountable force—that the request of persons in arms, and under various circumstances of the volunteer delegates, however humble they may be, cannot be taken into consideration.

Lord Bristol is certainly dispirited and mortified. There is no popular cry in his favour. He has few or no visitants. He could not obtain the chair in the sub-committee, nor even among the most desperate of his party can there be discovered any spirit that can flatter a conspirator.

The embarrassments and confusion in Dublin augment daily. Flood has been forced by importunity that would receive no denial, to appear in his robes of flannel; but when pressed for assistance, he wrapped himself up still more closely in caution, and obscurity, and half-sentences. He acknowledged his favourable wishes for a Parliamentary Reform, and the having given great attention to it, as an

abstract and theoretical question; but declared he had never seen a plan of reform, from Mr. Locke's time to the present, that was not objectionable. No one can suppose his designs friendly to Government; but whatever they may be, they do not at present tend to encourage the violent party.

A greater embarrassment yet has arisen in the Convention, which you will see in print, viz. the interference, but of different principles, of the Catholics. By the mouth of Lord Kenmare they relinquish their pretensions to suffrages at elections; by the mouth of Sir Patrick Bellew they assert them. I wish they did more humbly, for I am clearly of opinion that alarm is felt of the increase of the Catholic interest and prevalence beyond the present limits, which give them, in the general opinion, all the share of rights necessary for their happiness, and consistent with the safety of their Protestant fellow-subjects. Every idea of the extension of their claims excites new dread and jealousy of the Volunteers, and cements and animates the real friends of the Constitution. And surely, with reason, for upon the very principle of free and conscientious suffrage, nothing can be more impossible than a Protestant representation chosen by Catholic electors. Can any man give the Catholic a right of voting, and doubt of the subversion of the Church establishment as a natural, if not an immediate consequence? The very basis of the Brunswick House, the Protestant interest of Europe, is threatened.—You will pardon this digression.

The report is, that the Committee have determined on a plan, in which the Catholics are excluded, and which will be ready to be laid before the Convention on Tuesday next. The common opinion is, either that the Convention will break up, or they will tread back their former steps, refer the plan back to the people at large, and petition Parlia-

ment, and instruct men from county meetings in brown coats.

I found Ogle, who dined with me yesterday, sanguine in this expectation, and he, and all others who admired silence in Parliament, till on a particular common ground, plumed themselves upon the prudence of the measure, and think the Parliament is now out of the scrape.

Another curious circumstance has arisen, that may in a few days produce a decisive explanation between Parliament and the delegates. The election committee on the Down Petition have reported it frivolous and vexatious. The House have sentenced them to pay costs, and meaning to censure the other petitioners at the bar, have ordered them to attend in custody. Some of the petitioners are delegates, and, I hear, will resist, and that they will be supported in so doing by Brownlow. Some imagine they will set up privilege or representation against the authority of the old House of Commons. I hardly believe they will be so counselled, but I think it likely they will take up the old ground of the printers in London, and deny the power of the House of Commons to attach the person of the subject at large. I am, truly yours,

J. BURGOYNE.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO MR. FOX.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 17th, 1783.

MY DEAR FOX;

I agree in opinion with you, that nothing could happen more disgraceful to a government, or which, at first view, carries with it more of danger and mischief, than the meeting of the present Convention, its continuance, and the object of its consideration. I have looked on with infinite concern and anxiety, and have watched its motions and proceedings with the utmost vigilance and care. I

am not disposed, however, to be equally apprehensive as yourself of the consequences which it may produce; it is composed of such an heterogeneous set, of characters, views, and principles so different, that its resolutions are not likely to be such as will cause embarrassment and distress to Government. I am thoroughly disposed to meet with firmness, and oppose with resolution, whenever Government can properly act; but, in my opinion, that period is not yet arrived. If you consider the consequence and credit these Volunteers have obtained, at the time those great concessions were made in the Duke of Portland's administration,—that the address of the two Houses of Parliament was carried up between rows of Volunteers under arms, that our friend *Richard*,* then Secretary, in an interruption of a debate, acquainting the House of Commons with the Duke of Portland's waiting for them, assigned as an additional apology, that there was a number of worthy and respectable men under arms to do honour to the business of that day;—that they have received three times the thanks of Parliament for their good conduct;—when you consider the pains which have been taken with so much industry and success, to create fresh discontents among the Volunteers,—the court which Lord Temple paid them,—the bill which passed the English Parliament to quiet their alarms, and which they consider as obtained by their exertions;—after a mature consideration of these matters, you will not be surprised that the idea of Government's interfering to prevent their meeting met with no advocate to support it, nor any man hardy enough to avow the recommendation of it; it was, therefore, inexpedient to attempt to do what was not likely to be attended with any salutary effects.

The next step was to try, by means of our friends in this

* Mr. Fitzpatrick.

assembly, to perplex its proceedings, and to create confusion in their deliberations, in order to bring their meeting into contempt, and to create a necessity of its dissolving itself. This method had considerable effect. They are strongly embarrassed by a multiplicity of plans, and are much alarmed by the Roman Catholics claiming a right to vote; a wish which the most respectable of that persuasion disavow and disapprove of, and many have already retired to their homes disgusted.

Another desirable step, was to involve them, if possible, in a dispute with the House of Commons, and to create the necessity of a declaration of the House, to support the dignity of Parliament and to maintain its rights; it was imagined a favourable opportunity would have presented itself upon the Down Petition, which, however, by a reconciliation between the parties was avoided.

It is with pleasure I assure you, that few men entertain any apprehension of mischief from this meeting. Friends of all denominations, new and old, agree that no consequences are to be feared; that it will end in confusion, and contempt will attend its fall. The measure now in contemplation, is the sending the plan which may be agreed on to the different counties, to have meetings of freeholders called, and to instruct the members to vote for it. If it ever gets into such hands, there will be no occasion for conventional meetings.

Mr. Flood has shewn much disinclination to attend these meetings, but he has been frequently summoned; the advice he has given—being frequently called on so to do—was to take up every plan which had been delivered, to strike out every exceptionable part of each, mix up the whole together, and to let it go down to the counties as a mass of information for the counties to deliberate upon. He declared his reverence for the old Constitution, that it

could not be touched without infinite hazard, and if he had not been pressed, would have avoided giving any plan or assistance to them.

Nov. 18*th.*

Nothing is more true, than that the House of Commons passed almost an unanimous vote of satisfaction at the close of the last session; yet it is equally true, that satisfaction was of short duration, and that new dissatisfaction succeeded almost immediately. This was pretty general; so that in the opinion of the public at large, and in some measure, of Parliament, that vote is nearly obsolete. In their opinion many things still remained to be arranged, and particularly, objects of regulation, which the friends of Government had pledged themselves to, when in opposition, were supposed by them to be reserved for a settlement, at a period which would afford more leisure than the conclusion of a session.

I cannot think that it can be the intention of the Cabinet to give me a discretionary power with regard to annual sessions, nor that the expressions used by Lord North in his despatch did by any means convey such a meaning. "The innumerable inconveniences of annual sessions of Parliament must be obvious to your Excellency, and how much they outweigh the advantages expected from them. As to the pretence used by the supporters of provincial meetings, it is so mere a pretence, that it cannot be considered as a reason for any alteration of consequence. His Majesty's servants wish, therefore, that the grants of money may be made as usual for two years. Perhaps your Excellency, on the fullest and most mature enquiry, is perfectly convinced that they cannot be obtained in the usual manner."

A more decisive opinion of the impropriety of the mea-

sure cannot be given, and the direction is positive to resist, and, as far as remonstrance can be useful, to defeat it.

As far as I can state and judge, my opinion is, that Ireland will be most easily governed by annual meetings. It will knit more firmly together the supporters of Government, and *marshal the Phalanx men* more readily. You will not have to be making bargains for the support of particular sessions, after which every man is really left at liberty, and is to renew his agreement again; but it will be a steady and a fixed support, not liable to change, and more to be depended on.

As to "*boons, gifts, and compliments,*" I do not suppose you rank, under that head, regulations which of necessity arise out of the new situation of Ireland: I mean the establishment of an Admiralty Court, Post Office, and annual sessions, all objects which the new constitution of Ireland comprehends within it. The sugar refinery was once an object so much at heart that my predictions have been verified; and the directions of every one of the Duke of Portland's friends have rendered it necessary for me to acquiesce in placing the silk and woollen manufactures on a system of equalization, that is, reducing the duty in England on Irish woollens to the duty here on English. There never can exist a competition, at least for a century, owing to the superior skill, diligence, and capital, of England. Upon a non-importation agreement, which lasted a considerable time, the case was clearly proved, and the effects produced were increase of price and worse materials.

I must refer to my old idea, that is, that, the trade of Ireland being open to England, any regulations she may find it expedient to make must interfere with English trade; and I cannot help observing that the old notions seem to govern even now the King's councils, and that a

strong jealousy exists about every trifling advantage that is likely to be gained by Ireland.

Many of our friends, you say, have disapproved of the proposed arrangements for Scott and Fitzgibbon. Are they of this or your side of the water? If on my side, I can contradict it thus far—Grattan was consulted, and was content to act with Fitzgibbon, and has no objection to Scott being Prime Sergeant. The Attorney-general likewise approves of Fitzgibbon. He stands foremost in rank, abilities, and professional knowledge. It is proposed he should take the lead in the House of Commons. Scott's appointment to the Prime Sergeantcy has been warmly urged by Conolly and Mr. Loftus. These two are considerable friends of yours and of the Duke of Portland.

I have a most difficult task. The country is full of disorder, madness, and inconsistency; deriving much of its inclination to disquiet from vexation—from a notion of the instability of Government at home, and the influence of a *secret hand* attempting to undermine Government here. I mean a *secret hand** from a high quarter.

In addition to all this, I must confess it is a wrong measure of the English Government to make this country the first step in politics, as it usually has been; as I am sure men of abilities, knowledge, business, and experience, ought to be employed here, both in the capacity of Lord Lieutenant and Secretary; not gentlemen taken *wild* from Brooks's† to make their *denouement* in public life.

I am, with truest regard, yours sincerely,

NORTHINGTON.

* This was the secret hand that directed the proceedings against the Fox party on the East India Bill, and this remark shows that the Government were aware they possessed no friend in that quarter, and it should have rendered them more cautious.

† The Club in St. James's-street.

CHAPTER V.

Interview between Lord Bristol, Bishop of Derry, and Lord Charlemont—Singular remarks of the former—Dinner to the Bishop at George Robert Fitzgerald's—Attack meditated on Mr. Grattan—Intended arrest of the Bishop by the Privy Council—Remarks on the Debates in the Convention, and proceedings of the Volunteers—Their resolutions and plan of parliamentary reform—Mr. Flood proceeds from the Convention to the House—Moves to bring in a Bill of Reform—Violent opposition—Mr. Daly's reply to Mr. Flood—Bill rejected—Resolutions of the House of Commons thereon—List of division—Lord Lieutenant's letter to Mr. Fox respecting the debate in the Commons—Mr. Flood and Mr. Luttrell—Termination of the Convention—Address to the King—Sir Jonah Barrington's error in his history respecting Lord Charlemont—Remarks on the Volunteers—Mr. Flood's departure to England with the address—Takes his seat in the English House of Commons—Speeches on Mr. Fox's East India Bill—How received by the English—Attacked by General Luttrell—Anecdote—General Luttrell—his character—Mr. Grattan's remarks on Mr. Flood.

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred at this time, indicative of the sentiments and intentions of those who now took a lead in public affairs and sought to direct the people. The Bishop of Derry had come from the North, accompanied by a troop of horse, under the command of his nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald; they attended him on all occasions, mounted guard at his residence, and paraded the streets with much pomp. Thus did the Bishop court every popular breeze, eager for admiration

and applause, and assuming all the airs of popularity most unbecoming his station, and in a manner at once both sacrilegious and seditious. He proceeded to Marino and presented himself to Lord Charlemont, and rubbing his hands with much mirth, exclaimed, "Things are going on well,—we shall have blood, my Lord,—we shall have blood!" It was said, that in one of his fanciful moods, he had conceived the idea of separating the two countries. Lord Charlemont, with great composure, replied — "Blood! my Lord,—not a drop, my Lord, shall be shed, if I can help it,—no blood—that I promise you!" This sentiment of the Bishop was not, however, entertained by many; but it is difficult to say to what extremes an armed body might have proceeded, attracted by the specious allurements of liberty, and under the guidance of so holy an adviser.

Another incident occurred at this time, in which Mr. Grattan was concerned. George Robert Fitzgerald gave a splendid entertainment to the Bishop and several of the Volunteer officers, who had accompanied him from Derry, and formed part of his suite. They wished to get Mr. Grattan to join in their views, and he was accordingly invited. Mr. Grattan did not belong to the Convention, and though a determined supporter of the independence of Ireland, was averse to the measures now adopted. He did not enter into

their objects in the manner they desired, and his reception was necessarily cold and formal; but what added to the dissatisfaction which the party felt, was, that a special messenger came from the Castle with a letter from Mr. Pelham, requesting Mr. Grattan to attend a meeting of the Privy Council, which, at that unseasonable hour, was to be held on urgent business. This increased the discontent of the party; but the occurrence proved to him a matter of great importance. He had in his employment a faithful servant, who, knowing where he dined, went to inform him that a mob were lying in wait with intent to do him harm. This was communicated to Mrs. Grattan, who was very much alarmed. He, however, calmly left the party, and retired home. The mob were collected in the street at his house, very noisy, and very cross; but having missed their object, they finally dispersed without doing any mischief. This, perhaps, is one of the few agreeable instances in which a man's life was saved by going to the Castle. Many have lost their character by going there, and it will hereafter appear, that if Mr. Grattan had been brought thither a few years subsequent, he probably would have found in that quarter anything but protection.

The result of that meeting in the Council was not known; but there can be little doubt that at one meeting, the intention of the Council was to arrest the Bishop. This transpired in the following

manner: — When the Bishop was lying ill at Naples, Lord Northington was there. Colonel Fitzgerald, (Mrs. Grattan's brother,) was calling at the hotel where the Bishop was, when a scene very singular, and not very moral, took place. The Bishop was just receiving the sacrament, when *a young and interesting female* pressed forward to enter his apartment. She was informed it was impossible to see him, as the rites of the church were just administering. The Italian not understanding the ceremony, and thinking that it was some medicine, exclaimed, "*quando avra passato, io entraro*"!!! Lord Northington and Colonel Fitzgerald were somewhat surprised; when the former, addressing the Colonel, said,— "There is the Bishop. When I was Lord-lieutenant in Ireland, I had the warrant in my pocket to arrest him for his seditious conduct and commit him to prison."

A man who is a friend to public liberty will be an enemy to conventions: they supersede the representative body on the ground of its delinquency; they lose force by their frequency, and the worst of popular violence is, that if the people succeed, anarchy follows; if they fail, they strengthen the Government. This was the case in the instance of the Volunteer Convention.

In their debates every thing seemed ascribed to the Volunteers, — such is the vanity of public bodies! They were made the subject of vehe-

ment and undistinguishing panegyric, as fulsome as it was false. Nothing could be more honourable than their exertions, but nothing more censurable than the praise which excluded the Parliament from any share in the redemption of the country. History disproved it.

The address for free trade, the vote for no taxes till the trade was free, the limitation of the bill of supply, and the address of the 16th April, 1782,—these were no inconsiderable items in the catalogue of Parliamentary services, that should have inculcated confidence and satisfaction, and reproached ingratitude and mutability. But the great objection to the style of panegyric adopted in the Convention, was, not only its departure from history, but its inflammatory tendency. It went to possess the Volunteers with an opinion that they not only acted without the assistance of Parliament and the higher class of men, but against it. It did more; it had a tendency to excite the Volunteers to sully by violence their past services,—to put down the Parliament, and put an army of observation over its head,—to exhort men to go on whom they should implore to stop,—to inspire the youth of the array with the vanity of interfering in the proceedings of Parliament, which they did not understand,—and render their debates the means of propagating a contempt for order;—appointing field days after the admonition from Parliament, to disband, as if the duty of a

soldier was shewn by a disregard of authority. Here too, as in other cases and other countries, there were sycophants of the mob, who sought to possess the people with a sense of their infallibility, or rather to assert the fallibility of the Constitution and the infallibility of their arms. Their logic was a gross idea; viz.—that popular exertion at one time, was an argument for popular exertion at all times. But the cases were widely different; in the great period of Irish redemption, the object and means were different. The means were more regular, the object more exalted. At that time the electors proceeded by instruction and petition, and found (a wholesome advice at all times) that the laws of the country had furnished her with means sufficient for the redress of her grievances. The Volunteers then assembled by corps and provincial meetings. The counties met, and petitioned Parliament dutifully and constitutionally. But the measures resorted to now, were neither instructions nor petitions, nor occasional provincial meetings; they were Parliaments. As the one period was illustrious, so was the other most inauspicious. The object of the former was to shake off the supremacy of the British Parliament;—the object of the other was to reform the Irish Parliament by an array. The progress, perhaps, was natural; but, it must be considered as fatal. It was a progress from a love of liberty, to a thirst of dominion,—from shaking

off a foreign yoke to the establishment of a domestic one,—the yoke of an army, in the place of Government by Parliament. The Volunteers had certainly lined the streets in 1779, on the address for free trade, and so far had made a bold demonstration; but then it was *for* the Parliament: in the latter case, it was *for* the Convention and *against* the Parliament. The difference lay in supporting, and in overawing Parliament,—between the use and the abuse of armed men. The original exertion was undoubtedly a revolution; but one revolution is no precedent for a second, until the principles of the first are departed from. The revolution in 1688, in England, was a precedent for turning out King William, if he trod in the steps of King James;—but as long as he adhered to the Declaration of Rights, it was a precedent for him; for the essence of a revolution is not the commotion, but the wholesome settlement of liberty established thereby. And in the instance of the Convention the case was still stronger. The revolution of 1782, was not a precedent for, but against such proceedings; for it went to establish Parliament; whereas the Convention went to supersede it.

The proceedings of this body were not consistent with law, order, or liberty: the parent of a stratocracy, not freedom,—they paved the way for the United Irishmen, and shewed from that moment, that the union with England was practi-

cable. So far the House of Commons was right, not to accept the services of such a body to reform their assembly; because, to model the legislature by such hands was in effect to subvert it. An army professing to reform a state is the subversion of it. When the Roman legions marched to Rome, they gave away the empire; and when the British soldiery were poured into Ireland, in 1799, and with drawn swords guarded the avenues of the two Houses, they gave away the Parliament. The Volunteers also forgot, that there was not, in the history of these countries, an instance, where a body of men attempted to run down a Parliament, that they did not run down themselves.

However, much was to be allowed for youth,—much for momentary intoxication,—much for past services. Their regularity, their zeal, their moderation, their alacrity to support the civil power, and their exertions to defend the realm, and above all, their respect for the sole and exclusive authority of the Irish Parliament, for a course of years, had been most eminently displayed; so that one thing only was now necessary to complete their glory; namely, that after having established liberty, they should retire (as Mr. Yelverton counselled them) and cultivate the blessings of peace. The Parliamentary constitution was the base on which they rested the eternity of their fame; and when that was obtained, the end of their mission

was answered. Let it further be recollected, that as all human excellence is dashed with infirmity, so the fame of these men must submit to the frailty and condition of their nature.

The following resolutions comprise the plan of Parliamentary Reform adopted by the Convention, who commenced their sittings on that question on the 10th of November, and closed them on the 1st December, 1783.

Resolved unanimously, That no elector in any connty, city, town, borough, or manor, within the kingdom of Ireland, be permitted to vote for any representative in Parliament for said county, city, town, borough, or manor, so long as he may cease to be resident in said county, city, town, borough, or manor, unless his right of voting arises from freehold or leasehold property of twenty pounds per annum, within said county, city, town, borough, or manor, as hereafter specified.

That no elector shall be deemed a resident within any county, city, town, borough, or manor, unless he shall actually reside in said county, city, town, borough, or manor for six months at least in the twelve months previous to the day of the teste of the writ, and unless the said county, city, town, borough, or manor shall have been the usual place of his residence during the period of his registry.

That every elector do register his qualification twelve months previous to the day of the teste of the writ, to entitle him to exercise his right of voting for members to serve in Parliament.

That the sheriff of every county do appoint a deputy to take the poll of each barony on the same day.

That all decayed, mean, and depopulated cities, towns, boroughs, or manors, which have hitherto returned members to serve in Parliament by an extension of franchise to the neighbouring barony or baronies, parish or parishes, be enabled to return representatives agreeably to the principles of the constitution.

That every city, town, borough, or manor, which hath hitherto returned members to serve in Parliament, be deemed to be decayed which doth not now contain within its present precincts a number of electors, over and above potwallopers, qualified to vote according to this plan, of not less than *two hundred for the province of Leinster;* and that, whensoever any city, town, borough, or manor shall so far fall into decay as not to furnish the aforesaid number respectively, that then the said city, town, borough, or manor do cease to return representatives, till such time as the aforesaid number of electors be supplied.

That every Protestant in any city, town, borough, or manor (not decayed), seised of a freehold within the precincts thereof, shall have a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament for such city, town, borough, or manor.

That all bye-laws made, or to be made, by any corporation to contract the right of franchise, be declared illegal by Act of Parliament.

That every Protestant possessed of a leasehold interest in any city, town, borough, or manor (not decayed), which hitherto returned members to serve in Parliament, or within the precincts of the same, of the clear yearly value of ten pounds, which at its original creation was thirty-one years or upwards, and of which *fifteen* years are unexpired, as per registry, be entitled to vote for said city, town, borough, or manor.

That the duration of Parliament ought not to exceed the term of three years.

That all suffrages be given viva voce, and not by ballot.

That any person accepting or holding a pension directly or indirectly, other than for life, or the term of twenty-one years at least, be rendered incapable of sitting in Parliament.

That any member of the House of Commons holding a pension, directly or indirectly, for life, or for the term of twenty-one years or upwards, do vacate his seat, but be capable of re-election.

That any member of the House of Commons accepting any place of profit under the crown, do vacate his seat, but be capable of being re-elected.

That the following oath be administered to each member of the House of Commons, and by him taken before he takes his seat:—

"I, A. B. of ——— do swear that I have not by myself, nor have I by any other person, for me, or at my desire or cost, or with my knowledge, consent, or approbation, given meat, drink, entertainment or provision, employment, place, money, or other value, reward, or consideration, directly or indirectly; nor any obligation or promise for employment, place, or other value, reward, or consideration, to any person or persons whomsoever, for any expenses of any kind whatsoever they may have been at, to induce him or them to vote or to forbear to vote for me or any other person, or to procure for me or any one else the vote or interest of any person; and that I will never, directly or indirectly, fulfil any engagement or promise entered into by any person whomsoever, relative to the giving any meat, drink, entertainment or provision, employment, place, money, or other value, reward, or

consideration, to any person for having voted for me, or procured a vote for me or any other person at the late election: and I do further solemnly swear that I will not suffer any person to hold any pension or any place of profit for me under the crown, or accept of any sum of money in trust for me, or for my use and benefit, or for the use and benefit of any of my family, whilst I shall serve as a member of Parliament. And I do most solemnly and sincerely take this oath without any evasion or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God."

That any person convicted of perjury by a jury, relative to the above oath, be rendered incapable of ever sitting in the House of Commons.

On Saturday the 29th of Nov. 1783, Mr. Flood, in pursuance of the resolution of the Convention, proceeded from that body to the House, and moved for leave to bring in the Bill of Reform. He was seconded by Mr. Brownlow, a name that of itself commanded respect. Sir Edward Newenham, who had previously given notice of his intention to the same effect, gave way to Mr. Flood. The proposition was not received in a favourable manner. The effect produced by the debates in the Convention had operated on the minds of the members; and although no one could assert that the Parliament was pure, or was either a popular or a fair representation of the people, yet the party who had hitherto supported them in their struggles for freedom, could not forget, that the House of Commons had, in the most trying times, acted well,—that its defects, great as they were, afforded

no sufficient reason, why the forms of Parliament should be openly violated, and the body itself be thus rudely assailed. Government, too, had been very active, and had strained every nerve to oppose the Convention. It appeared, therefore, better to meet the question at once, and to assert the authority of Parliament. Accordingly, the Attorney-general, (Mr. Yelverton,) whose services on behalf of the constitution of his country, and of the cause of the people, had been hitherto so remarkable, opposed the leave demanded. He was supported by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Prime Sergeant Kelly, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Hutchinson (the Provost), Sir John Parnell, Mr. George Ponsonby, and Mr. Denis Daly. These individuals were men of undoubted and of tried attachment to the liberties of their country; their opposition could not be said to wear a suspicious appearance; their motives were pure and incorrupt; their real object was to uphold the principles of the constitution, hoping that time would efface the errors into which the Volunteers had been led, and that the return of prudence would restrain a course of intoxication. Mr. Yelverton, who all along had viewed the proceedings of the Convention with silent concern and patient affection, now gave them the most friendly admonition, and concluded by advising them to retire and cultivate the blessings of peace.

Mr. Grattan's conduct at this crisis was a mat-

ter of much anxiety to the minister, as may be seen from Mr. Fox's letter to Lord Northington. The Government expected that he would have taken a decided part against the Volunteers, and that, as one of the individuals who had contributed to bring them into existence, he was bound to take care that they should do no injury to the State. But the British ministry forgot that the Volunteers had passed into other hands, and that they were no longer under the original salutary control. His wish was to keep the Volunteers of Ireland and the country well affected to the Irish Parliament, no less than to the British connexion. He was anxious to reconcile rather than irritate, more particularly as his opinion on the necessity of reform coincided with theirs. Therefore, although the motion appeared in such a questionable shape, he gave it his support; but he accompanied it with advice to the people—prudent, judicious, and paternal. Some men, however, supported the motion, merely to keep up standing grievances; some from private pique and interested motives; and many undoubtedly were influenced by the declared sense of the places they represented, and the instructions they had received.

Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Curran, who supported the bill, were all advocates of constitutional principles, attached to

law and order, and independent both in spirit, character, and conduct.

The excitement in the house was very great; the debate was long, and very stormy. Mr. Flood urged the case with considerable ability, though not with perfect candour. However, the feeling rose strong against him. It was singular that this motion was unsupported by petitions from the people; so that it came forward with great disadvantage, and was urged on in a manner most prejudicial; and the precipitation and violence by which it was accompanied, certainly threw the question back for an indefinite period. It is also remarkable that Mr. Flood did not enter into the particulars of his bill, and the question was therefore not discussed on its merits. The objections were, that it originated with the Convention, and that he was not a free agent. He made a faint attempt at denial, stating that he had received "*no order*" from the Convention. He was severely replied to by Mr. Fitzgibbon, and pressed by Mr. Denis Daly, who said:—

"I confess I am ashamed that the gentleman who made this motion should not only evade giving an answer to the enquiry, 'Whether it was the result of deliberations in the Convention,' but almost deny it.—I say that he brings the bill here by order of that body; and I say that, while an armed assembly is sitting in the capital, the debate is not free; but as I did not oppose or scorn the Volunteers when weak — as I never went to a county meeting, and with a contumelious aspect, asked if the county was

arrayed — and being answered, No* — never turned my back upon them; neither will I now, when they are strong and mighty, turn my back to them. But I will meet them as a friend, and will say to them,—'You are advancing to anarchy and destruction: I beseech you, retreat while you may with honour, for there is a desperate demagogue among you, who is conducting you to a precipice, from whence you will fall to your ruin.'"

This was a severe sentence from Daly, who was a more dangerous person to be attacked by than any other man; for he possessed a rectitude of character that gave great weight to invective. At length, after a very violent debate, which lasted till a late hour on Sunday morning, the House divided; when the motion for leave to bring in the Reform Bill was lost by 77 to 150;† immediately after which, the Attorney-General proposed the following resolution:—

"That it is now become indispensably necessary to declare that this House will maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever."

This was carried by 150 to 60.

* This refers to Mr. Flood's conduct towards the county of Kilkenny, when the Volunteer Associations commenced.

† Members who voted on Mr. Henry Flood's motion, 29 Nov. 1783, for leave to bring in a Bill for the more equal Representation of the People in Parliament.

FOR.

Alcock, Henry	Bernard, James
Alexander, William	Blackwood, Sir John, Bt.
Archdall, Mervyn	Bolton, Cornelius
Barton, Thomas	Brook, H. Vaughan
Bernard, Francis	Brown, Hon. Denis

Mr. Conolly then moved—

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to declare the perfect satisfaction which we feel in the many blessings we enjoy under his Majesty's most auspicious Government and our present happy constitution, and to acquaint his Majesty, that at this time we think it peculiarly incumbent upon us to express our determined resolution to preserve the same inviolate with our lives and fortunes."

Brown, Hon. James
Brown, Arthur
Brownlow, Rt. Hon. Wm. (teller)
Burton, William
Butler, Sir Richard
Caldwell, Andrew
Carew, Shapland
Carey, Rt. Hon. Edward
Colthurst, Nicholas
Corry, Isaac
Crofton, Edward
Curran, John Philpot
Denny, Sir Barry
Doyle, Major
Fetherstone, Sir J.
Fitzgerald, Edward
Flood, Henry
Forbes, ————
Forbes, John
French, Arthur
Godfrey, ————
Grattan, Rt. Hon. Henry
Hamilton, Arthur Cole
Handcock, William
Hardy, Francis
Hartley, Travers
Hartstonge, Sir Henry
Hayes, Samuel
Herbert, Richard T.
Hussey, Dudley
Jones, William Tod
Kearney, Thomas
Kingsborough, Lord
Latouche, Peter
Leslie, Charles Powell
Lloyd, John
Longfield, Richard
Lowther, George
Malone, Richard
Massey, Sir Hugh
Massey, Hon. H.
Molyneux, William
Montgomery, Alexander
Montgomery, George
Montgomery, John
Montgomery, Nathaniel
Neville, Richard
Newenham, Sir Edward (teller)
Ogle, Rt. Hon. George
Ogle, William
O'Hara, Charles
O'Neill, Rt. Hon. John
Parsons, Laurence
Parsons, Sir William
Prittie, Henry
Richardson, William

This was carried unanimously. A similar resolution was adopted by the Lords, to which his

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Rowley, Hon. Hercules
Sharman, William
Skeffington, Hon. C.
Smith, Thomas
Stewart, Charles
Stewart, James
Stewart, Sir Annesley, Bt.
St. George, Sir Richard
Stratford, Hon. John
Toler, Daniel
Trench, W. J. K.
Vowell, Major
Warburton, John
Ward, Hon. C.
Westby, Nicholas

AGAINST.

Acheson, Hon. Arthur
Adderley, Thomas
Agar, George
Agar, Henry William
Annesley, Hon. Richard
Armstrong, John
Aylmer, Sir Fitzgerald
Bailey, James
Bennet, John
Beresford, Rt. Hon. John
Beresford, Marcus
Blakeney, John
Blakeney, Theophilus
Blaquiere, Rt. Hon. Sir John
Bligh, Thomas
Bourke, Hon. John
Brooke, Sir Arthur
Browne, Henry
Browne, Sir John
Burgh, T. (Chapelizod)
Bushe, Gervase Parker
Burgh, T. (Old Town)
Carleton, Hugh
Carroll, Edward
Caulfield, William
Chatterton, James
Chinnery, Broderick
Clements, Rt. Hon. J.
Cobbe, Charles
Coghlan, Thomas
Coddington, Henry
Conynghame, Rt. Hon. Lieut.-Gen.
Conoly, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Coote, Charles Henry
Cotter, Sir James L.
Cotter, Rogerson
Creighton, Hon. Abraham
Cromie, Sir Michael
Crookshank, Alexander
Cuffe, Rt. Hon. James
Daly, Rt. Hon. Denis
Daly, Denis Bowes
Dawson, Arthur
Delvin, Lord
Delveaux, Charles
Digby, Simon
Dillon, Robert
Dunbar, George
Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. Lord H.
Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. Lord C.
Fitzgerald, James
Fitzgerald, James
Fitzgibbon, John (teller)
Flood, Warden

Majesty returned the following remarkable answer —the more worthy of notice, when we consider

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Fortescue, Thomas James
Foster, Rt. Hon. John
Foster, J. W.
Gardner, Rt. Hon. Luke
Greene, Godfrey
Griffith, R.
Hamilton, Sackville
Hamilton, Sir J. S. Bart.
Hatch, John
Hatton, Henry
Hill, Sir Hugh
Hoare, Joseph
Hobson, John
Holmes Peter
Howard, Hon. Robert
Howard, Hon. William
Howard, Hugh
Hunt, Edward
Hutchinson, Hon. R. H. (teller)
Hutchinson, Rt. Hon. John Hely
Hutchinson, Sir F.
Jackson, Rt. Hon. R.
Jephson, Denham
Jephson, Robert
Jocelyn, Lord
Jocelyn, Hon. George
Jones, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Keane, Colonel Hugh
Kelly, Thomas
Kilwarlin, Lord
Knox, Hon. Thomas
Langrishe, Sir Hercules
Latouche, John
Latouche, D. jun.
Lawless, Sir Nicholas
Leigh, Robert
Loftus, Henry
Loftus, Captain Thomas
Loftus, Rt. Hon. T. C.
Luttrell, Hon. H. Lawes
Mason, John Monk
Maude, Sir Cornwallis, Bart.
Maxwell, Hon. Mr.
May, Sir James
Meredyth, Henry
Metge, Peter
M'Clintock, J.
Montgomery, Sir W. Bart.
Moore, John
Moore, Lorenzo
Moore, Stephen
Moore, Hon. William
Morris, John
Morris, Lodge
Musgrave, Sir Richard
Nesbitt, Thomas
O'Callaghan, Cornelius
O'Flaherty, J. Burke
Ogilvie, William
Osborne, John Proby
Osborne, Sir Thomas
Pakenham, Hon. T.
Parnell, Sir Henry
Pelham, Rt. Hon. T.
Pennefather, Richard
Pennefather, William
Pigott, Thomas
Pomeroy, Henry
Pomeroy, Rt. Hon. John
Ponsonby, George
Ponsonby, John Carrigue
Ponsonby, William Brabazon

that, both in spirit and letter, it was shamefully violated a few years after:—

"His Majesty returns his hearty thanks to the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, for their dutiful and loyal address. His Majesty receives with the highest satisfaction the sentiments expressed by his Parliament respecting his Majesty's Government; and his Majesty's faithful Parliament may rest assured of his Majesty's determined resolution to concur with them *at all times in the maintenance of that free and excellent Constitution*, on which the happiness and interests of his people of Ireland so essentially depend."

Ponsonby, Rt. Hon. John
Pole, William Wellesley
Preston, John
Preston, Joseph
Price, Cromwell
Ram, Andrew
Rawson, George
Reilly, John
Richardson, John
Richardson, William
Rochfort, Hon. Robert
Ross, Robert
Roth, George
Rowley, Clotworthy
Ruxton, Charles
Ruxton, John
Sandford, George
Sandford, George
Scott, Rt. Hon. John
Sheridan, Charles Francis
Skeffington, Hon. Henry
Skeffington, Hon. Wm. John
Smith, Sir S.
Stewart, Henry
Staples, John
Staples, John
St. George, Thomas
St. Leger, Hon. Hayes
Sudley, Lord
Taylor, Langford
Tighe, Edward
Toler, John
Tottenham, Charles
Tottenham, Charles (Co. Wicklow)
Tottenham, Captain R. Loftus
Tottenham, Ponsonby
Townsend, R. Boyle
Tydd, John
Uniacke, Robert
Usher, John
Walshe, Patrick
Weldon, Stewart
Wolfe, Arthur
Wolfe, J.
Wood, Ottiwell
Wynn, Rt. Hon. Owen
Wynn, Owen
Yelverton, Rt. Hon. B.

It cannot be denied that the Volunteers had an argument. The Parliament of Ireland was a borough Parliament; and it was the Volunteers alone who roused the spirit of that body, and forced it to act; and when they had accomplished their object, they could not be certain that Parliament would not relapse and undo all that had been already done. Unquestionably, if a reform had been effected, it would have been most fortunate; for nothing could be so bad as the constitution of that Parliament, and this was eventually proved, when it sold the country. But in the first case, force was made to appear too glaringly; in the next, the reform proposed was in itself a bad one; and lastly, the leader of the measure, Mr. Flood, was not a man calculated to conduct a popular body. If he meant war, he did not manœuvre well; for the part he took at the Rotunda was neither sufficiently active nor sufficiently bold, and when the bill was rejected he abandoned everything. It is probable that if the question had come to the trial, the Convention would not have succeeded. There were from 5000 to 7000 troops in the country. England had made peace, and the gentry would have taken part with the Parliament; for though on the question of trade and constitution they would have taken part with the Volunteers, they would not have done so on that of reform.

The termination of these eventful proceedings

was communicated to Mr. Fox by the Lord Lieutenant, as follows :—

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO MR. FOX.

Dublin Castle, 30th Nov. 1783.

My Dear Fox,

The opportunity I so much wished for has at last presented itself. The Committee of Convention having presented their plans, instructed Mr. Flood and Mr. Brownlow, two of the principal members, to introduce it into Parliament. They did not choose to continue in their original idea of petitioning Parliament, but introduced it as a proposition of their own. I was apprised, late on Friday, by my friends, of the intention to introduce it next day into the House, and I immediately determined to call as considerable and as full a meeting as possible of those who had declared a disinclination towards the conventional assembly. Accordingly, a full assembly, of great respectability and consequence, attended. It was proposed by Government to meet this question in the most decided manner, and to bring to issue the contest between the Government and this motley assembly usurping its rights. This idea met with very considerable support. A great heartiness shewed itself among the principal men of consequence and fortune, and a decided spirit of opposition to the unreasonable encroachments appeared with every man attached to the Administration. The idea stated was to oppose the *leave* to bring in a bill for the reform of Parliament in the first stage, on the ground of the petition originating in an assembly unconstitutional and illegal, and meant to awe and control the legislature. This bold mode of treating it was certainly most proper; at the same time it was subject to the defections of those who had been instructed

on this idea of reform, and those who were still anxious to retain a small degree of popularity amongst the Volunteers. To have put it with a resolution would have given us at least fourteen votes. Grattan, having pledged himself to the idea of reform of Parliament, could not see the distinction between the refusal of leave on the ground of its having come from an exceptionable body, and the absolute denial of receiving any plan of reform. He voted against us, and spoke; but his speech evidently shewed that he meant us no harm, and on the question of the resolution to support Parliament he voted with us. The resolutions are gone to the Lords, who will concur in them, except, it is said, Lord Mountmorris, Lord Aldborough, and Lord Charlemont.

It is the universal opinion here that this day has given a most complete defeat to the Volunteers and the Conventional Assembly. Some of most consequence have been with us, and declared that, under the circumstances of being pledged at contested elections and guided by instructions, they were obliged to oppose me; but now this pledge is at an end, they have voted to introduce it into the House. That has failed, and they are now ready to receive any instructions as to the means of preventing any future discontents or disquietudes in their different counties. Amongst the foremost of them is O'Neill.—I feel great satisfaction at having postponed making a vigorous exertion until the Assembly had shewn itself to be such as to alarm moderate men here. Neither Flood nor Brownlow dare avow that they acted by instructions from this Assembly. Our Attorney General* acted with great ability, firmness, and decision; such, likewise, was the conduct of the Prime Sergeant. Fitzgibbon acquitted himself astonishingly, as did Daly, Foster, and almost

* Yelverton.

every one on the side of Government. Pole voted and spoke in support of the resolution, both at a meeting in the morning and in the House of Commons, although his brother, Lord Mornington, approved only of resisting the introduction of the bill. I just learn that it is in the contemplation of Flood to carry over an address, as the deputed ambassador of the delegates, to the King, expressive of their loyalty, as a sort of counter declaration to the resolution of Parliament, and that he is to set off tomorrow night: in that case Luttrell means to accompany him, in order to prevent any false statement in the English House of Commons. If the business goes off as I sincerely hope it may, and the address should go to the King, an answer of temper and firmness at the same time would highly suit the present state of things with us. A retrospective compliment to the conduct of the Volunteers — a disapprobation of their present meeting—a hope—expectation, or advice of disbanding themselves.

If parts of this are unintelligible, either from the handwriting or complete nonsense, I must only rely on your goodness; for you must know that, after a great Irish dinner, it is not the time for sense or precision.

Adieu, my dear Fox, I am,

Yours, very truly,

NORTHINGTON.

It now remains to advert to the final proceedings of the Convention.—The Resolutions of the House of Commons were decisive; and as it was clear the Parliament would not yield, so the question was, how this extraordinary assembly should relieve itself from the embarrassment in which it was placed.—It reassembled on Monday,

the 1st of December. The Earl of Charlemont took the chair, and the roll being called over—

Captain Moore took notice of the reception their resolutions received from Parliament; but—

Earl Charlemont observed, that it was not orderly to take notice of anything which passed in another place.

The Earl of Bristol said the most proper mode of knowing that business was through the gentlemen commissioned to move for the Parliamentary Reform. This brought up Mr. Flood, who said—

"Not arrogating to ourselves the right of legislation, and not having forfeited our franchises, and being instructed by this assembly to move for a bill of Reform, I went to the House in full confidence of meeting no opposition; having but a simple proposition to move, I confined myself to the motion; but I soon found a disinclination in the House to receive it;—not but there were many members who were ready to receive and support it, but a more numerous host rose up and opposed it, on the pretext of allowing no ground for intimidation. On this I took the measure on myself, and was seconded by two honourable members of this assembly; but in vain,—rejection was determined on, and that in an intemperate and indecent manner, which I hope will only serve to strengthen your moderation and your firmness."—He then mentioned the resolution the House of Commons came to in consequence of his motion. He was sorry, he said, it fell to his lot to give the melancholy relation; but as the rejection made no alteration in their claim, he recommended moderation, fortitude, and perseverance.

Mr. Brownlow followed Mr. Flood, and recommended, instead of animadversion on such an act, moderation and firmness.

Major Moore then moved the following resolution:—"Resolved unanimously, that we earnestly recommend it to the electors of the several counties of this kingdom to appoint proper persons to make a return forthwith of each city, town, borough and manor belonging to their county, which is by our plan declared to be decayed; to report by what admission of barony or baronies, parish or parishes, to the right of franchise, such decayed city, town, borough, or manor may best be opened in conformity to the said plan; and if in any particular place a deviation from the general plan should by local circumstances be rendered necessary, that they do specify these local circumstances with the utmost precision, together with such modes as may appear to them to be the fittest to be substituted in the place of the general regulation, assigning their reasons for the same; but in no case advising such deviation, unless on the most manifest necessity."

Mr. Flood then seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

The Convention having met on the next day, (the 2nd of December), Mr. Flood observed, that as the Convention had still retained an impression of the conduct of a certain assembly on its mind, it was necessary it should rid itself of that pressure. In this country the conduct of the Volunteers did not stand in need of any vindication, as their actions could stand the test of the severest scrutiny; but in England the case might be different, where they could have but few advocates; and attempts had been already made to misrepresent their views. For these reasons, he thought it necessary for the Convention to agree to an address to his Majesty, to remove any suspicion that the royal breast might entertain of the purity of their intentions. He said it contained the substance of Mr. Hacket's

resolutions, and was free from what had been objected to in them by some gentlemen; at the same time, he said, he hoped Mr. Hacket would permit it to stand in the place of his resolutions, which he accordingly did, agreeing in the identity of their object. The proposed address was as follows:—

"That his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland, begged leave to approach his Majesty's throne with all humility,—To express their zeal for his Majesty's person, family, and Government, and their inviolable attachment to the perpetual connexion of his Majesty's crown of this kingdom with that of Great Britain;—to offer to his Majesty their lives and fortunes in support of his Majesty's rights, and of the glory and prosperity of the British empire;—to assert with an humble but an honest confidence, that the Volunteers of Ireland did, without expence to the public, protect his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland against his foreign enemies at a time when the remains of his Majesty's forces in this country were not adequate to that service;—to state that, through their means, the laws and police of this kingdom had been better executed and maintained than at any former period within the memory of man: and to implore his Majesty that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the Parliamentary representations of this kingdom remedied by the Legislature in some reasonable degree, might not be imputed to any spirit of innovation in them, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the Constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms."

Mr. Bagenal then moved, "That the Generals of the Volunteer army be requested to give notice what sort of arms and accoutrements they will expect the heavy and light horse battalion and light infantry should appear in,

and what place of review they will adopt for next summer." —The motion was not seconded; and the original question being put, the address was agreed to, Lord Farnham and Mr. O'Hara only dissenting.

The following resolutions were then unanimously passed:—

"That the necessity of a Parliamentary reform is manifest, and that we do exhort the nation by every constitutional effort to effectuate such reform.

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty from this Convention, as the Delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland; and that Colonel Flood and the Right Honourable Lieutenant Colonel William Brownlow, or either of them, do present the same."

A copy of an address to his Majesty being then produced and read,—it was resolved, "That the said address be agreed to and adopted as the address of this Convention." After which, having passed sundry resolutions of thanks, the Convention adjourned *sine die.*

This was a wise, though perhaps an idle, way of terminating an injudicious proceeding; and the best that can be said of it is, that it was pacific.

Sir Jonah Barrington, in his remarks on the subject in his work, entitled, "The History of the Union," complains that Lord Charlemont had resorted to unfair means for the purpose of dissolving the Convention;—that he had taken the assembly by surprise, and that, with a few friends, he attended there on Monday the 1st of December, and procured its adjournment *sine die.** This is an error, and an unjust charge

* See the "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation," by Sir Jonah Barrington. Paris edition, 1833, p. 307.

against Lord Charlemont. For the Convention adjourned from Monday to Tuesday the 2nd of December, as it had formerly done. There was a full debate, a series of resolutions were adopted, and there was a regular attendance. Mr. Flood, Sir Edward Newenham, the Bishop of Derry, Lord Farnham, Mr. Bagenal, and Mr. Stewart, were present; and it would have been very easy for them to have frustrated any attempt at dissolution; but, in fact, all parties were desirous of terminating this unseemly strife, and were anxious to get out of the awkward situation in which they were placed, particularly after the vote of the House of Commons.

Thus ended this memorable Convention. Its exit was much to the credit of the Volunteers, who now paid a becoming attention to the admonition of Parliament, recollecting that a soldier's honour exists in a contempt for the enemy, and a respect for the civil power,—recollecting also their own exertions against a perpetual Mutiny Bill, and against an army independent of Parliament, and that they should not be an army in its defiance,—that they should not presume to be the reformers of Parliament,—that to support Parliament by arms was a restoration, but to reform it by an array was subversion. When the liberty of the country was questioned by a Government at variance with the constitution, the case was different; but now the Government was formed

on the charter of the people, and was no longer incompatible with their freedom. So that, if there had been no difference found between the past and present Government, there never could exist at any time a Government in Ireland that would have proved acceptable, nor any Government that would have given satisfaction to the subject, or repose to the malcontent.

Lord Charlemont mainly assisted in extricating the country from the difficulty with which it was placed. A collision with the House of Commons was avoided, and the character of the Volunteers was preserved; and for this great credit is certainly due to him. He did not forget that the way to consequence within the House of Parliament is a respect for its privileges; as the true line of ambition without, is a veneration for its laws. His character, and the temperament of his mind were peculiarly fortunate. The toil and hardship of a parade in every part of the kingdom, could not be supposed to afford much delight to him, except that which arose from the conscious satisfaction of discharging his duty at the sacrifice of his repose. The constant labour to restrain any thing that was violent—to dissuade every thing that was disrespectful—to stand between the sword of the Volunteer and the Constitution, was a post of great solicitude, and required every thing that was pure in mind, and engaging in manner.

The Volunteers were not forgetful of this crisis of their former glory, of their eminent services, and the extent of their fame: they knew that a resolution of the House of Parliament was not law; but a resolution of Parliament, conveying to an armed body an admonition to retire, should be received as an order, and obeyed as a law. It was wisdom, therefore, to recede, and close by a dutiful exit a life of renown. What more illustrious than a body of men arraying for the authority of the Legislature, and disbanding at its summons?—that was to be the saviour of the country; and their paths were those of glory, and their ways were the ways of peace.

The day after the Convention had dissolved itself, Mr. Flood sailed for England to present their address to his Majesty, which he did at the next levee, and informed the Volunteers that it was not usual to return any answer on such occasions. He now appeared on another scene, having been elected for Winchester, a borough belonging to the Duke of Chandos. He took his seat for the first time in the British House of Commons; it was during the debate on Mr. Fox's India Bill. The subject had been warmly discussed for several nights, and the House was tired of the question: he, therefore, came forward under much disadvantage. The ablest speakers —Fox, Pitt, Burke, and Sheridan, had delivered their opinions, and the subject was ex-

hausted. Mr. Flood rose, as was believed, merely to say a few words, but being cheered and encouraged and finding that curiosity was excited by the appearance of a new member, and a stranger, he was tempted to proceed. He spoke long, and showed that he had read a number of old books upon the subject, but that he was not master of it. His articulation was too slow for the English House; he spoke in too grave a tone, and they did not like his oracular sentences delivered with what seemed an affected solemnity. He tired, and disappointed all parties. It is likely that they in some degree were prepossessed against him. He came over as a great Irish orator, and naturally excited considerable jealousy; for though the English House of Commons is a fine audience, and inclined to do justice, yet it is not always a fair one, and there never was at any time a great predilection towards the Irish. It is often fastidious, and highly aristocratic. It is, nevertheless, a good judge of talent, and there is scarcely so enlightened an assembly in the world, where there are so many men so well acquainted with so much and such various business, and who transact it at all times, and all hours, with such unremitting care and attention.

Mr. Flood was not permitted to remain tranquil, and having in a debate soon after alluded to the Volunteers, he was attacked by Mr. Courtney, with some effect and considerable ridicule, on

which occasion the forms of the House did not however permit him to reply; he was also assailed and answered by Mr. Luttrell,* who had gone over from Ireland for the purpose of encountering him, but with whom, as far as talent was concerned, Mr. Flood would have disdained

* A few days after the debate, some Irish gentlemen were walking in Hyde Park, and conversing about Flood's speech, when Luttrell, who had replied to him, came up. They said that they were sure the English would not allow Flood to succeed in the house; that a stranger was not liked, and that an opportunity would be taken to put him down. "Put him down!" exclaimed Luttrell, "put Flood down!—his speech and conduct the other night shows pretty plainly they will not put him down." Mr. Luttrell, afterwards Lord Carhampton, is a name well known in Irish and English history. He acted in Middlesex as unconstitutional a part in a political way, as he did afterwards in Ireland in a military one. He had been attacked by Mr. Scott, who was counsel in the case of a petition, when Mr. Trench was declared duly elected by the House of Commons, although he had a minority of votes. Mr. Scott defended the proceeding, and said "it could not be compared to that of Middlesex: in the one case the member was a man of excellent character, in the other the reverse, that he was vile and infamous." This attack on the part of Scott was more than indecorous. Luttrell, however, took no notice of it, and from this circumstance his spirit was called in question. Such a course as Luttrell adopted might have been pursued by a brave man, and one of acknowledged character; but Luttrell had not much character to spare; he possessed neither a lofty spirit nor any experience in his profession; he was a clever bravo, ready to give an insult, and perhaps capable of bearing one. That he was a mere adventurer, his attack on Mr. Flood in the English house plainly shewed, and completely justified the remark which Mr. Grattan was said to have made upon him, "that he was exactly the man to pounce on you when you were down and to pick out your eyes." His conduct to the Reverend Edward Berwick, who mercifully interfered on behalf of some of the peasantry that were flogged and tortured by the soldiers in 1798, will be alluded to subsequently, and will show to what sort of governors Ireland was committed.

to engage, and whom he could have vanquished with the greatest ease. But Mr. Flood here also had no opportunity to reply,—he did not take an active part afterwards in the English Parliament. He spoke on the French treaty in 1787, replied with spirit to Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grenville, and was complimented by Mr. Wilberforce for his eloquence and ability.* In 1790, he spoke very well on the subject of Reform,—and his reply was excellent, so much so, that Mr. Burke, in a private conversation, stated that "*Flood had recovered his ground*" in that debate; and Mr. Fox declared his plan of Reform the best he had yet heard of.

But even at this approaching termination of his public life, (for he died the year after,) Mr. Flood was taunted in the House of Commons (March, 1790), as not belonging to the country; and was attacked by Mr. Powis for bringing forward his plan of Reform—the plan so eulogized by Mr. Fox, and which Mr. Pitt said, he only voted against in consequence of the time at which it was brought forward,—that of the French Revolution.

Mr. Flood was here made to feel, almost at his

* No good report of this speech appears in the English Parliamentary Debates; it was, however, published by Mr. Flood in a pamphlet. It is logical, and full of reasoning; it pleased the audience: they thought it convincing, and that Mr. Flood was superior in argument. It reads well, but is too sententious, and too full of little aphorisms and maxims, and is not well suited for the English people, who like more the language of fact, and not so much that of abstract.

expiring hour, the folly of emigrating from his native country. He replied to the charge with spirit; and concluded, saying, "I am not a citizen of France, I am a citizen of the British Empire;—the accident of my situation has not made me a partizan; and I never till now lamented that situation,—now that I feel myself so unprotected."

Mr. Grattan's remarks, in his well-known reply to the pamphlet of Lord Clare, are deserving of notice. "Mr. Flood,—my rival as the pamphlet calls him,—and I should be unworthy the character of his rival, if in his grave I did not do him justice. He had faults; but he had great powers—great public effect. He persuaded the old, he inspired the young. The Castle vanished before him. On a small subject he was miserable; put into his hand a distaff, and like another Hercules he made sad work of it; but give him the thunderbolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter. He misjudged when he transplanted himself to the English Parliament; he forgot that he was a tree of the forest, too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty; and his seat in the British Parliament is a caution to the friends of union to stay at home, and make the country of their birth the scene of their action."

CHAPTER VI.

The Lord-lieutenant refuses increase of salary—Letter to Lord North upon the subject—Lord Temple's letter to Lord Northington conveying the King's desire—Speaker's (Pery) speech at the end of the session—Lord Northington's letter to Mr. Grattan informing him of a Change of Ministry—Causes thereof—Lord Temple's conduct—Influencing the votes of the peers at the desire of the King—Conduct of Mr. Pitt and the King against Mr. Fox and the House of Commons—List of the New Ministry—Lord Northington's administration—Letter to Mr. Grattan—Lord Sidney and the Lords of the Treasury respecting W. G. Hamilton's pension—Mr. Foster's appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer—The appointment of resident persons to employments in Ireland—Mr. E. Cooke's appointment—Separation between Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan—Cause thereof—Mr. Grattan purchases a borough for Lord Charlemont's relation—His letter to Lord Charlemont and Isaac Corry—Reply of Lord Charlemont—Mr. Grattan's panegyric upon him.

On the 22nd of November, Mr. Molyneux moved that the salary of the Lord-lieutenant should be increased from 16,000*l.* at which sum it had been fixed in the time of Lord Halifax, to 20,000*l.* This was done without the approbation or knowlege of the Lord-lieutenant; and the Attorney-general accordingly proposed that the question should be adjourned; the address, however, to his Majesty for the increase was carried.

The next step was an increase of the salary of the Secretary 2,000*l.* a-year, which was proposed

by Sir John Blaquiere. These motions came from those who had been in opposition, and were made rather with a view to the successor of Lord Northington than for him; as Mr. Molyneux, a few weeks after, on the dissolution of Mr. Fox's ministry, proposed an address to the King, testifying their satisfaction at the dismission of the Coalition ministry, and the appointment of Mr. Pitt. The house did not agree to the motion, but it served to shew the insidious character of the measure—proposed by those who were in opposition to the administration of Lord Northington.

The increase of these salaries Mr. Grattan disapproved of, but he moved for the appointment of a committee to enquire into all practicable retrenchment; which was agreed to.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT (NORTHINGTON) TO LORD NORTH.

"*Copy of my private Letter to Lord North.*"

Dublin Castle, Dec. 2nd, 1783.

My Lord,

An address has passed the House of Commons, upon the motion of a gentleman in opposition to the measures of Government, for an augmentation of the appointments of the Lord-lieutenant and his secretary. As soon as notice was given of this motion, I directed the Attorney-general to express my satisfaction to the House with the establishment already made; that I did not desire any addition; that I was of opinion, the appointments were equal to the expense, or so nearly so, that with the addition of one or

two thousand pounds from his private fortune, a Lord-lieutenant might support his situation with sufficient splendour and magnificence; that I wished no additional burthen might be laid upon the country upon my account, and therefore desired that the motion might be withdrawn.

The Attorney-general, however, did not manage the business precisely as I wished him to do; but moved to postpone the consideration for a fortnight, that I might be able to learn his Majesty's pleasure on the subject. This was objected to on account of the chance of committing the King and the House of Commons in different sentiments; and therefore it was contended that it was then fit to decide. My opinion being known on the subject, every person connected with the Government took the part they chose, and many voted against the proposition, thinking it would be agreeable to me so to do. I only mention this circumstance, in order to acquaint your lordship, that if Government had been disposed to interfere, it is the universal opinion that there would not have been a minority of twenty votes. The reason I wished the motion to be withdrawn, was on a supposition that it was a measure of opposition, after my wish to refuse it, to fix it for a subsequent Lord-lieutenant; and the only predicament I particularly wished to avoid was that which the mismanagement of the Attorney-general has put me into. The question was carried: it now goes for his Majesty's consideration; and his pleasure must be taken, not only as far as regards me, but regarding the situation of his representative futurely, as well as now.

Thus circumstanced, I shall beg your Lordship to state my wishes to be precisely the same as those I communicated to the House of Commons, of being allowed to decline this augmentation; submitting, however, as it is my duty to do, to whatever commands his Majesty may

think proper to send to me. I should mention to your Lordship that, approving the intended appointment of Mr. Pelham, I desired the Attorney-general to communicate my sentiments to the friends of Government. If the King approves of my intention to refuse, it is thought an answer something similar to the one I have the honour to submit, would be as proper as any. I will, however, receive whatever alteration your Lordship chooses.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

NORTHINGTON.

(*Proposed Reply.*)

His Excellency the Lord-lieutenant having laid before his Majesty the humble desire of this House that his Majesty would be pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainment of the Lord-lieutenant for the time being as, with the present allowance, will in the whole amount to the annual sum of 20,000*l.*; and his Excellency having expressed his wishes to decline any augmentation to the said offices, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to express the just sense which his Majesty entertains of the attachment of the House of Commons in Ireland to his Majesty's Government, and their zeal for its support.

Copy (*Official*).

Dublin Castle, Dec. 3rd, 1783.

MY LORD,

The enclosed addresses from the House of Commons, dated the 22nd of last month, having been presented to me, expressing their desire that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainment of the Lord-lieutenant for the time being, as, with the present allowances, will in the whole amount to the

annual sum of 20,000*l.*; also that his Majesty will be pleased to grant to the principal secretary of the Lord-lieutenant for the time being, an additional salary of 2000*l.* per annum:

I am to desire that your Lordship will be pleased to lay the same before his Majesty accordingly. I am at the same time to inform your Lordship that the Attorney-general, by my directions, acquainted the House of Commons, when the motion was proposed, that so far as respected myself, I was perfectly satisfied with my present appointments, and did not wish to place any additional charge upon the establishment of this kingdom on my account, but that in a matter respecting the situation of his Majesty's representative in that kingdom, I could not decide without first knowing his Majesty's pleasure.

I am of opinion that the appointments of the chief secretary are very inadequate to the expenses of that situation; and therefore I entirely approve of the addition proposed by the House of Commons to the salary of that office. I have the honour, &c. &c.

NORTHINGTON.

LORD TEMPLE TO LORD NORTHINGTON.

Whitehall, Dec. 21st, 1783.

MY LORD,

Your Excellency's letter of the 3rd instant has been delivered to me by Lord North, with the addresses of the House of Commons in Ireland enclosed in it, desiring that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainment of the Lord-lieutenant for the time being, as with the present allowances will, in the whole, amount to the annual sum of 20,000*l.*, and also that His Majesty will be pleased to grant to the principal

Secretary of the Lord-lieutenant of the time being an additional salary of 2,000*l.* per annum. I have had the honour of laying your Excellency's letter and the said addresses before the King, and I am commanded to acquaint you that His Majesty is sensible of your Excellency's unwillingness on this occasion to place any additional charge upon the establishment of Ireland for your own advantage. But as His Majesty considers the increase of salary proposed for the Chief Governor of that kingdom will not be more than adequate to the expenses attendant on that high and important situation, nor the addition proposed to be given to the principal Secretary more than is necessary for the proper maintenance of his station: His Majesty is graciously pleased to approve that the said augmentation shall be made, and your Excellency will receive the answers which His Majesty has thought proper should be given to the House of Commons upon this occasion. I am, &c. &c.

NUGENT TEMPLE.

"His Excellency the Lord-lieutenant having laid before His Majesty the humble desire of this House, that His Majesty will please to grant such an augmentation to the entertainment of the Lord-lieutenant for the time being, as with the present allowance will, in the whole, amount to the annual sum of 20,000*l.*, His Majesty has been pleased to declare his entire satisfaction in this necessary addition, and has granted the same accordingly."

Lord Temple, who advised and wrote this answer, soon after reaped the benefit of it, as he accepted the situation of Lord-lieutenant in the course of a few years.

The speech which Mr. Pery delivered on presenting the money bills on the 22nd of December 1783, is deserving of remark on account of its constitutional character, its reference to the acquisitions made in the civil and religious liberties of the nation, and for his advice as to the mode by which they could be most effectually preserved. "Public order and steady virtue!"—happy would it have been for the nation if his recommendation had been followed!

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

History cannot furnish many instances of such remarkable events as have happened in the course of the last seven years; of these none are more worthy of observation than the changes in the human mind, and the more so, because they have been produced by causes from which they were the least to be expected. New tenets more consonant to the principles of humanity and justice, have been universally adopted in civil and religious policy; these are the happy but unexpected fruits of calamitous war. In other countries national benefits may have compensated for national misfortunes; but it has been the peculiar felicity of this kingdom to acquire the former without feeling the severities of the latter. *To her steady virtue she owes these glorious attainments, and by her virtue I am confident she will preserve them, and transmit to posterity unimpaired the British constitution, the very essence of which is liberty and order.* Good government and liberty are inseparable, they are necessary to, and mutually support and protect each other, and neither can exist without the other.

The Commons, since the commencement of this session,

have directed their attention to those important objects which were so wisely recommended to them by your Excellency to improve and secure those advantages which had been acquired in the last Parliament. They have also made provision, without laying any new burthens upon the people, for the honourable support of His Majesty's Government, and for the discharge of the arrears upon the establishments; and they have the fullest confidence that your Excellency will represent them to His Majesty, as loyal, dutiful, and affectionate subjects.

Shortly after, the House adjourned from the 25th of January to the 9th of February; and on the dissolution of the Fox ministry, Lord Northington, though requested to retain the office of Lord-lieutenant, chose to retire, and give up the administration of Ireland. He was soon after succeeded by the Duke of Rutland.

LORD NORTHINGTON TO MR. GRATTAN.

Monday, 22nd December, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

The King has thought it proper on Thursday night to send for the seals of office from Mr. Fox and Lord North, and they are no longer ministers. A total change was to take place immediately, and a dissolution of the English Parliament inevitable. The House of Commons have come to some strong resolutions, which I enclose to you. This mad and strange advice will probably be productive of the worst consequence to the country, and of no small danger to the individual who has given it.

I promised to give you early intelligence; but I do

it in so much hurry, being on my way to the house to pass the bills, that I am apprehensive you will scarcely read it.

I remain, with great truth and regard,

Very sincerely yours,

NORTHINGTON.

The cause which led to the dissolution of the Ministry is well known. The India Bill of Mr. Fox was a measure wrong in point of policy, though not in principle, and showed, at first sight, the extreme imprudence of the proposal. Mr. Fox brought forward a most intricate subject, at the very time that he ought to have avoided all doubtful questions. He ought not to have forgotten that the King, as is shown in his letter on the occasion,* hated the Rockingham party, which for so many years past His Majesty considered to have opposed and thwarted him. He should, therefore, have been more

"15th February, 1784.

"Queen's House, 30′ past 10, A.M.

* "Mr. Pitt is so well apprised of *the mortification I feel at any possibility of ever seeing again the heads of opposition in public employment, and more particularly Mr. Fox, whose conduct has not been more marked against my station in the empire than against my person,* that he must attribute my want of perspicuity in my conversation last night to that foundation. Yet I should imagine it must be an ease to his mind in conferring with the other confidential ministers this morning, to have on paper my sentiments, which are the result of unremitted consideration since he left me last night, and which he has my consent to communicate if he judges it right, to the above respectable persons.

"My present situation is perhaps the most singular that ever occurred, either in the annals of this or any other country: for the House of Lords, by a not less majority than near two to one, have declared in my favour; and my subjects at large in a much more considerable proportion are not less decided; to combat which, opposition have only a

cautious, and have been aware that the King would avail himself of the first opportunity to

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majority of twenty, or at most of thirty, in the House of Commons, who, I am sorry to add, seem as yet willing to prevent the public supplies. Though I certainly have never much valued popularity, yet I do not think it is to be despised when arising from a rectitude of conduct, and when it is to be retained by following the same respectable path which conviction makes me esteem that of duty, as calculated to prevent one branch of the legislature from annihilating the other two, and seizing also the executive power to which she has no claim. I confess I have not yet seen the smallest appearance of sincerity in the leaders of the opposition to come into the only mode by which I could tolerate them in my service—their giving up the idea of having the administration in their hands, and coming in as a respectable part of one on a broad basis; and therefore I with a jealous eye look on any words dropped by them, either in parliament or to the gentlemen of the St. Alban's Tavern, as meant only to gain those gentlemen, or, if carrying farther views, to draw Mr. Pitt, by a negotiation, into some difficulty.

"Should the Ministers, after discussing this, still think it advisable that an attempt should be made to try whether an administration can be formed on a real, not a nominal wide basis, and that Mr. Pitt, having repeatedly and as fruitlessly found it impossible to get even an interview, on what opposition pretends to admit is a necessary measure, I will, though reluctantly, go personally so far as to authorise a message to be carried in my name to the Duke of Portland, expressing a desire that he and Mr. Pitt may meet to confer on the means of forming an administration on a wide basis, as the only means of entirely healing the divisions which stop the business of the nation. The only person I can think, from his office as well as personal character, proper to be sent by me is Lord Sidney; but should the Duke of Portland, when required by me, refuse to meet Mr. Pitt, more especially upon the strange plea he has as yet held forth, I must here declare that I shall not deem it right for me ever to address myself again to him.

"The message must be drawn on paper, as must every thing in such a negotiation, as far as my name is concerned, and I trust when I next see Mr. Pitt, if under the present circumstances the other ministers shall agree with him in thinking such a proposition advisable, that he will bring a sketch of such a message for my inspection.

"GEORGE, R."

turn him out; and that Mr. Pitt, equally eager as the King, would have taken advantage of every error of his opponent.

On the 18th of November, 1783, Mr. Fox brought forward the bill, which encountered great and able opposition, but it was carried in the Lower House by a majority of nearly two to one. Strenuous efforts were then made throughout the country, particularly by the King's friends, to inflame the people against the Ministry and the bill, which they represented as an invasion of the royal prerogative, and a dangerous source of influence to the Minister.

When the measure came to the Lords, it was strongly opposed by Lord Thurlow and Lord Temple, the latter of whom is said to have been the person through whose means that "*secret influence*" was exerted which threw out the bill. But the practice of bringing the influence of the crown to operate upon the legislative body was not practised by Lord Temple in England alone; he resorted to it afterwards in Ireland; and, aided by Lord Clare, introduced into that country in 1789, a system of open and undisguised corruption, injurious to the character, and fatal to the liberties of Ireland.

Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons, produced a letter upon the subject of the exercise of the royal influence against the measure, and stated that a written note had been put into Lord Tem-

ple's hand, in which the King declared, that he should consider *those who voted for the India Bill were not only—not his friends, but his enemies ;* and that if he, Lord Temple, could put this in stronger words, he had full authority to do so.

In consequence of this, just previous to the debate, proxies were withdrawn ; a number of Lords changed sides—some absented themselves —and the Prince of Wales, (afterwards George the Fourth,) who had previously supported the bill, stayed away, giving this early indication of that sort of sincerity which marked his character and subsequent conduct, particularly where the cause of his friends, of liberty and of Ireland were concerned. The bill was rejected by 95 to 76.

On the same day, (the 17th of December,) Mr. Fox very properly moved,—"That it is now necessary to declare that to report any opinion or pretended opinion of his Majesty upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either house of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of Parliament, and subversive of the Constitution of this country."

This resolution, after a violent opposition from Mr. Pitt, was carried by 153 to 80 ; and at twelve o'clock the ensuing night, a messenger brought

to the two secretaries (Lord North and Mr. Fox) *his Majesty's orders "that they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable to him."* The seals were immediately given by the King to Earl Temple, who sent letters of dismission the day following to the other members of the cabinet.

In consequence of the resolution of the House of Commons, Lord Temple gave up the seals, in order to meet, as it was said, any charge which might be brought against him. However, nothing further was done on the subject; but it does not appear that either he or his relation, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grenville, ever denied, in a clear unambiguous manner, the statement respecting the unconstitutional interference of his Majesty.

The most extraordinary state of affairs now presented itself: from the 19th of December, 1783, to the 8th of March, 1784, the new minister, Mr. Pitt, supported by the King, contended against the former Minister, Mr. Fox, supported by the House of Commons. Motions, resolutions, addresses, postponement of supplies, rejection of Mr. Pitt's East India Bill,—and at last an humble representation* to the King,

* The address to his Majesty on the state of affairs, is a document worthy of admiration on account of its style and composition. After a long debate, it was carried only by *one*, the numbers being 191 to 190. When laid before the King, he replied in a singular tone. The term

testifying the surprise and affliction of his faithful Commons, were all successively carried, but in vain.

In the midst of all this turmoil, Mr. Pitt showed great character; he was cool, inflexible, and immoveable. The King remained obstinate, and both, at length, triumphed over the House of Commons.

This, perhaps, was one of the most singular contests that has occurred in the history of England. The consequence was, that the King first became his own minister,—and the minister afterwards, on the derangement of His Majesty, became *ipso facto*—king, and remained in power from that time, with little interval, till the year 1806, when he died.

"*faction*," which he gave to the majority of the House of Commons, and the statement "that in supporting the King Mr. Pitt saved the constitution," were unbecoming the sovereign of a free people. The reply was as follows:—

"Mr. Pitt's letter is undoubtedly the most satisfactory I have received for many months. An avowal on the outset that the proposition held forth is not intended to go farther lengths than a kind of manifesto; and then carrying it by a majority of only one, and the day concluded with an avowal that all negotiation is at an end, give me every reason to hope that by a firm and proper conduct, *this faction* will by degrees be deserted by many, and at length be forgot. I shall ever with pleasure consider that by the prudence as well as rectitude of one person in the House of Commons, this great change has been effected; and that he will ever be able to reflect with satisfaction, that *in having supported me, he has saved the constitution*, the most perfect of human formation."

CHANGE OF MINISTERS, DECEMBER, 1783.

GREAT BRITAIN.

First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer,—Right Hon. W. Pitt.

Secretary of State for the Foreign Department,—Marquis Carmarthen.

Secretary for the Home Department,—Lord Sidney.

President of the Council,—Earl Gower (succeeded by Lord Camden.)

Lord Privy Seal,—Duke of Rutland, (succeeded by Lord Gower.)

First Lord of the Admiralty,—Lord Howe.

Lord Chancellor,—Lord Thurlow.

(*The above composed the Cabinet.*)

Master General of the Ordnance,—Duke of Richmond.

Attorney General,—Lloyd Kenyon, (afterwards Lord.)

Solicitor General,—Richard Pepper Arden, Esq. (afterwards Lord Alvanley.)

Joint Paymasters of the Forces,—Rt. Hon. W. W. Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville and Lord Mulgrave.

Treasurer of the Navy,—H. Dundas, (afterwards Lord Melville.)

Secretary at War,—Sir George Yonge, Baronet.

Secretaries to the Treasury,—George Rose and Thomas Steel, Esqrs.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant,—Duke of Rutland, (24 Feb. 1784.)

Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant,—Thomas Orde, Esq.

Chancellor of the Exchequer,—Wm. Gerard Hamilton.

To continue Lord Chancellor,—Lord Lifford.

Attorney General,—John Fitzgibbon, (afterwards Lord Clare.)

Solicitor General,—Hugh Carleton, (afterwards Lord Carleton, and Judge in the Common Pleas.)

Prime Serjeant,—Thomas Kelly, (afterwards Justice in the Common Pleas.)

Lord Northington conducted his Government in a manner creditable to himself and friendly to Ireland. It was supported by Mr. Grattan, solely from public principle, and divested of all party feeling. He promoted domestic manufactures; assisted the corn trade of Ireland; favoured the breweries; regulated the sugar duties in a manner sought for under a former administration; introduced an Admiralty Bill, useful and constitutional in its clauses. He passed acts to encourage the growth of flax and tobacco; he forwarded the linen trade for the purpose of relieving the distress that existed in the country, and for which he was obliged to impose an embargo on the export of provisions. He rendered the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer resident, instead of absentee, as it had hitherto been. His sentiments on this subject appear in his letter to Lord Sidney, who was Secretary of State for the Home Department under Mr. Pitt's administration.

In addition to these meritorious services, Lord Northington refused an increase to the salary of Lord Lieutenant. In private he was cheerful and amiable, and not devoid of humour, even upon serious subjects. On one occasion, Mr. Grattan,

having waited upon him with a paper containing a statement of matters, in which he thought retrenchment was required; he requested his attention to it. Lord Northington listened, and then replied,—"Oh, economy; let us keep that for a *bonne bouche*." He showed his attention to the principle, however, for he refused 4000*l.* a-year.

THE LORD-LIEUTENANT TO MR. GRATTAN.

Castle, February 2nd, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Enclosed I send you copies of my letters upon Foster's and Cooke's business, which you may privately shew to whomever you please. I understand yesterday some mention was made of Foster's affair, and that it was laid to my charge, from which you were so good as to rescue me. I feel myself much obliged to you on that occasion, but cannot take my final adieu without thanking you for the very able, honourable support, you have given my administration.

I beg you to be persuaded of the sincere friendship and regard I have for you, and that it would make me particularly happy to have more opportunities of cultivating and increasing your esteem and good opinion.

I remain, with great truth, your faithful humble servant,

NORTHINGTON.

THE LORD-LIEUTENANT (NORTHINGTON) TO LORD SIDNEY.

(Private.) *Dublin Castle, February 20th,* 1784.

MY LORD,

As I have found it to be the general wish of men whose

opinions must have had the greatest weight with Government, that the employments of Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Rolls should be filled by gentlemen resident in this kingdom, I made it my endeavour to obtain a resignation of the first-mentioned office upon such terms as appeared to me to be liberal towards the present possessor, and such as were not likely to meet with the disapprobation of Parliament.

To accomplish this object, it has been my intention to offer to the Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton the full profits of his present employment for his life, as an inducement to him to accommodate Government. I have been disposed to state my intention of recommending to Parliament the exempting him from the payment of the absentee tax—a deduction of a fifth part, or to add to his pension so much as might clear it from the charge. According to an average account of five years last past, delivered upon oath, the profits of Mr. Hamilton's place amounts to 1,800*l.* per annum, without deducting the absentee tax.

These conditions, however, have not yet met with Mr. Hamilton's consent; and others, which he has thought proper to propose, I did not think it prudent for me to accept.

Had the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer been vacated by Mr. Hamilton's resignation, it was my intention to have submitted to the King my humble recommendation of the Right Honourable John Foster to be appointed to that office. Mr. Foster has for several sessions of Parliament conducted the business of Government in matters of finance with distinguished ability; his knowledge in that branch and in commercial subjects is universally admitted; he is a strong friend to His Majesty's Government, and his character is highly respectable. He is thus

pointed out as perfectly proper to fill a responsible office, which, in conformity to the practice in England, may for the future be considered here as intrusted to a person speaking the sentiments of Government in the House of Commons on these two subjects. At present Mr. Foster supports the administration without such an office as holds him responsible to Government and the public in those particulars; but being Chairman of the Committee of Supply, and the Committee of Ways and Means, he moves the resolutions upon the business in the House, though in the Committee he is precluded by being in the chair from supporting or debating the measure.

The considerations before mentioned would, in the event of a vacancy, have induced me to recommend him to His Majesty to be appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which office there cannot, in my opinion, be a more proper person; and I think it a justice due to Mr. Foster's merit to state my intention to your Lordships.

I have the honour to be, &c.

NORTHINGTON.

LORD NORTHINGTON TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

Dublin Castle, 20th February, 1784.

MY LORDS,

I understand that in April 1782 the Earl of Carlisle (then Lord-lieutenant of this kingdom) recommended to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury that they would lay before the King his humble request, that an additional salary of 300*l.* per annum, as Customer of Kinsale, should be granted to Edward Cooke, Esq.* in consequence of

* This individual afterwards became unfortunately a bosom friend of Lord Clare, a scribe of the Castle, and went to extremes in support of

his services in a very confidential station during his Lordship's government in Ireland.

I am well informed that the Duke of Portland has recently submitted the subject to the King's consideration, and that His Majesty was pleased to express his Royal approbation of some mark of favour being conferred on Mr. Cooke, whenever an official recommendation should be transmitted.

In consequence thereof, I am to desire your Lordships will lay before His Majesty my humble request, that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant an additional salary of 300*l.* a-year to Edward Cooke, Esq. as Customer of the port of Kinsale, to be placed on the civil establishment of this kingdom, under the head of Custom-house officers, to commence from such period as your Lordships shall be pleased to recommend, and to continue during His Majesty's pleasure, and to be paid and payable as other salaries on the said establishment are payable and paid.

And if His Majesty shall be pleased to consent thereto, I desire your Lordships will lay before His Majesty a proper letter for his Royal signature accordingly.

I have the honour to be, my Lords, &c. &c.

NORTHINGTON.

The most unpleasant event that occurred about this time, was the separation between Mr. Grattan and Lord Charlemont, arising from circumstances singular in themselves, by no means discreditable

the Union; he was not an Irishman. The very confidential station here alluded to may be judged of from the nature of the Lord-lieutenant's letters prior to 1782. See Vol. II. ante.

to the one, and amounting at most to an error of judgment in the other.

It is a matter to be deplored that politics should so often and so harshly terminate the most valued and disinterested private friendships. The separation between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, which even to the last moment* Mr. Burke singularly persisted in, affords a melancholy illustration of this remark. That between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood was another; and we have to add to the list the rupture with Lord Charlemont, which arose out of the proceedings in the session of 1783.

On the question of the augmentation of the army, Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan differed in opinion. The former had opposed Lord Northington's government, and had been carried almost too far, when he kept in with the people, after the people had broken with the Parliament. He favoured their addresses, he attended their meetings, and joined their convention; and although he did so with a view to moderate and restrain, still he lent them the sanction of his high name, and took part with Mr. Flood on the subject.

These were proceedings which were looked on with some jealousy and perhaps displeasure by Lord Northington's administration. They accord-

* See Mr. Burke's last letter to Mr. Fox, dictated from his dying bed.—*Prior's Life of Burke.*

ingly did not consult him, or summon him to council, or pay him that notice and respect which he certainly deserved. This, Lord Charlemont did not forgive: he left that party and went into opposition.

Mr. Isaac Corry, who was then a friend of Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Parsons, afterwards Lord Rosse, two rising men of the day in the House of Commons, joined with Mr. Flood on this question; and these individuals, with others of minor note, got into a sort of scrambling opposition, which was on their part as injudicious as it was unnecessary; for if one rule more than another is to be observed in politics it is this,—that when opposition has been rendered so effectual as to serve the country, it is a foolish thing for any member to attach himself to its daily practice; it loses its character, and renders it entirely useless.

Mr. Grattan felt this: it was not necessary for him to adopt such a course, and he would not implicitly follow any man. The circumstance, however, was embarrassing, as he sat for the borough of Lord Charlemont, and did not like to vote against him. Accordingly he gave 2,000*l.* to purchase a seat for a friend and relation of Lord Charlemont, and got Mr. Stewart, the son of Sir Annesley Stewart, returned for the borough of Longford. Such was the delicacy of Mr. Grattan's feelings on the occasion, an example which

certainly has not been followed in modern times.*

This circumstance, however, did not remove the coldness which existed on the part of Lord Charlemont. Some communication took place between the parties through Sir Annesley Stewart, in which Mr. Grattan asserted his own opinions, and contended that there was no inconsistency on his part, but the very reverse. In fact Lord Charlemont had supported the augmentation of the army when the Government was strong and the people were weak and had not gotten their liberties; and afterwards Lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood opposed the augmentation when the people had obtained them and had become powerful.

When the debate on the question took place, Mr. Stewart got up immediately after Mr. Grattan had spoken, and in a marked manner expressed a different opinion, and voted against the augmentation. Lord Charlemont thought Mr. Grattan should have done the same, which certainly was rather an instance of weakness on his part. The letters which passed on this occasion are highly creditable to Mr. Grattan. The one to Mr. Corry†

* Mr. Scarlett sat for the borough of Lord Fitzwilliam in the Imperial Parliament, and voted against his patron notwithstanding.

† This was the person who took so decided a part at the Union, and attacked Mr. Grattan in the grossest manner (as will be seen hereafter). The reply led to a duel, in which Mr. Corry was wounded. The letter here given is remarkable, and shows how feeble political friendships are in comparison with private. The love of self prevails over the love of country.

points out the course that he thought ought to be followed with regard to the Government. Lord Charlemont's recommendation not having been attended to by Mr. Grattan, the rupture between the parties unfortunately became irremediable.

MR. GRATTAN TO ISAAC CORRY.

February, 1784.

DEAR CORRY,

I received last night, the message you left for me to meet to-day; but my opinion with respect to the measures continues exactly the same. It would be unadvisable to enter into that kind of war. I think it would be better for some time to rest upon our arms, to hear the project of Government, and if it is wrong to oppose it.

This is my intention with respect *to my own conduct*, because this is the only way in which I can be of any service to the country; but I am very far from giving this as advice to others. In a great question I shall not be wanting. If I cannot approve of your meeting, I shall keep my opinion to myself.

As to meeting Lord Charlemont this morning, in this you cannot want my assistance; you will do credit to yourself, and I hope—as I am sure you wish—do service to the country.

I should meet Lord Charlemont with the greatest pleasure this day, but am engaged at that time. As to meeting at large, I should, if unengaged; and if I do not attend, it is because I should be sorry that my opinion (confined merely to myself) should have any weight in preventing any active measure of others which may be thought necessary. I am, my dear Corry,

Very truly yours,

HENRY GRATTAN.

LORD CHARLEMONT TO MR. GRATTAN.

Feb. 9th, 1784.

SIR,

Your persisting to act as you have done, after the answer delivered to you from me by Sir Annesley Stewart, clearly shews a fixed and settled design to break with me for ever: and you have succeeded.

As this is the last instance of intercourse between us, I will therefore repeat for the last time, what I have often told you,—that no difference in political opinion could ever have estranged me from you;—but I have a heart—a feeling one! My sentiments, with regard to Parliamentary connexions, have long been known to you, and therefore you must be sensible, that the method you have taken to cancel all obligations can never produce the desired effect.

The friendship of an honest man is inestimable. *That* you have possessed in the tenderest degree; for *that* alone you are obliged to me; an obligation which nothing can cancel, and which could only have been repaid by an equal return.

Respecting the gentleman you have brought into Parliament, I think you have chosen well. He is one for whom I have much regard; but permit me to assure you, that I never shall consider him, in the smallest degree a Parliamentary connexion, and of my determination on that head I will take care to apprize him. He is *your* friend in Parliament, and *there only* ceases to *be mine.*

And now farewell. I admire your abilities, and firmly believe in your integrity. Thus prepossessed, can I conclude otherwise, than by wishing you health and happiness, and a friend as faithful?—but, that the friendship may be lasting,—far less delicate than, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHARLEMONT.

MR. GRATTAN TO LORD CHARLEMONT.

14*th February*, 1784.

My Lord,

Your letter gave me great uneasiness. I will state the facts—you will judge. I conceived, and am still convinced, that the situation of this country, as well as my public declaration in the Government of the Duke of Portland, demand that I should give Lord Northington's administration a general and sincere support; but though resolved to support, I did not solicit confidence. On the contrary, I offered to you not to attend meetings to which you were not summoned, and I told the secretary that my wishes were, not to be sent for unless Lord Charlemont was sent for likewise. My offer you received with coldness, and you joined the opposition; for my part, then, I thought it necessary to appoint a substitute. This was not to cancel obligations, it does not cancel them, (they remain in full force,) but it was a justice due to you, to myself, and to my situation. I never could consent to sit for any gentleman's borough, and vote against him. I acknowledged that I learned from Sir Annesley Stewart your strong wishes against this step, nor did I acquaint him or his son that I intended to return the latter. I concealed my purpose till the election should be over. Mr. Stewart has no obligation to me: I chose him because your Lordship would not nominate any one, and because he is likely to be directed, by the example of a most respectable father, and by the weight and authority of his illustrious relation, your Lordship.

I should be very sorry indeed if this should put an end to our intercourse: no event would be more painful to me. However, it is certainly what you can do, but you can do no more,—you cannot diminish the opinion, regard, and love which I retain for your Lordship in the highest degree,

these sentiments, though unaccompanied by your kindness, being founded on your admirable qualities; you cannot get rid of the latter, nor change the former.

I am, very sincerely, yours,

H. GRATTAN.

The prudent course and the generous sentiments expressed in this letter did not make any impression on the mind of Lord Charlemont; and thus terminated most unfortunately and unwisely, a friendship begun under such different auspices, and which had proved so serviceable to the country. These individuals nevertheless met frequently after, and acted together for the public good, particularly when the Whig Club was formed; but Mr. Grattan was never again invited to Marino, nor did Lord Charlemont seek to renew their former acquaintance. Mr. Grattan, however, always spoke of him in terms of high admiration and regard, and after his death, Lady Charlemont and her family visited Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch on terms of ancient and renewed friendship.

In the reply to the pamphlet of Lord Clare, Mr. Grattan described Lord Charlemont thus:—

"In the list of injured characters I beg leave to say a few words for the good and gracious Earl of Charlemont. An attack, not only on his measures, but on his representative, makes his vindication seasonable. Formed to unite aristocracy and the people; with the manners of a court and the principles of a patriot; with the flame of liberty

and the love of order; unassailable to the approaches of power, of profit, or of titles; he annexed to the love of freedom a veneration for order, and cast on the crowd that followed him the gracious light of his own accomplishments; so that the very rabble grew civilized as it approached his person. For years did he preside over a great army without pay or reward, and he helped to accomplish a great revolution without a drop of blood.

"Let slaves utter their slander and bark at glory which is conferred by the people; his name will stand. And when their clay shall be gathered to the dirt to which they belong, his monument, whether in marble or in the hearts of his countrymen, shall be resorted to as a subject for sorrow, and an excitation to virtue.

"Should the author of this pamphlet pray, he could not ask for his son a greater blessing than to resemble the good Earl of Charlemont."

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Fitzgibbon appointed Attorney-general—The part Mr. Grattan took in that transaction (note)—Mr. Grattan's and Mr. Burke's praise of Hussey Burgh—Letter to Mr. Day—Annual Parliaments—Mr. Flood's motion for Reform, March, 1784—Aggregate meeting—Mr. Tandy's letter to the Sheriff—Attempt to form a National Congress—Mr. Fitzgibbon's peremptory letter to the Sheriffs—Mr. Orde's letter to Mr. Grattan respecting the meeting and address—Meeting of Congress in October—Its failure—Proceedings against the sheriff by attachment—Mr. Fitzgibbon's defence thereof—Meeting of Parliament, January 7, 1785—Mr. Grattan's Speech on the Address—His advice to the people—Mr. Orde's letter to Mr. Grattan respecting his speech, and the thanks to the Volunteers—Lord Charles Fitzgerald's and Mr. Brownlow's motion as to the attachment—Mr. Fitzgibbon's haughty and overbearing manner—Mr. Corry and Mr. Curran's attack—Mr. Flood renews the subject of attachments—Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine's opinion against them—Mr. Brownlow's motion—Injurious tendency thereof—Discussion as to the right of the Catholics to carry arms—Note—Lord Charlemont's answer to the Volunteers respecting the granting the elective franchise to the Catholics—Mr. Flood's amendment—Mr. Fitzgibbon's eulogium on Mr. Grattan.

At this period an event occurred, which proved to be the most unfortunate that could have befallen the country, and which was the cause of her greatest calamity and her final degradation. It is painful to be obliged to admit, that Mr. Grattan in some degree contributed thereto, and most singular it was that the individual who had but

just assisted to restore the constitution of his country, should have been the unconscious instrument of bringing about its destruction.

The circumstance alluded to was the appointment of Mr. Fitzgibbon to the office of Attorney-General. On the death of Chief Baron Burgh,* Mr. Yelverton was promoted to the Bench as his successor, and Government was anxious to get an active law-officer in his place. The country had been thrown into great ferment by the Volunteer Convention; an active and powerful party were still threatening, and seemed disposed to overawe the Government as well as the Parliament. Ministers in both kingdoms, as is apparent from Mr. Fox's letter, were alarmed; and they sought for a person possessed of spirit and boldness—a man who would support strong measures,—a ready speaker, and a daring mind. Unfortunately for Ireland, the elements of such a

* Mr. Grattan, speaking of him, said, "I moved for this pension,—I did it from a natural and instinctive feeling. I came to this house from his hearse. What concern first suggested, reason afterwards confirmed. Do I lament that pension?—Yes. Because in it I lament the mortality of noble emulation, of delightful various endowments, and above all, because I feel the absence of him, who, if now here, would have inspired this debate, would have asserted your privileges, exposed the false pretences of prerogative, and have added an angelic voice to the councils of the nation."—*Debates in the Irish Parliament.*

2,000*l.* was the amount of the annual pension granted among five of his family.

Mr. Burke said of him, "He was one of the most ingenious, and one of the most amiable men, that ever graced yours or any House of Parliament."—*Edmund Burke's Letter to Thomas Burgh, Esq.*

character were to be found in the person of Mr. Fitzgibbon.

Mr. Grattan was consulted as to this appointment, and in an evil hour he gave an opinion favourable to Mr. Fitzgibbon—"*ibi omnis effusus labor.*" Mr. Grattan had known him at College, and when at the Temple. He had been a visitor at his favourite retreat at Sunning Hill, near Windsor; and the support that Mr. Fitzgibbon gave him on his proposition for restoring the final judicature of Ireland, and his speech on that occasion, had still further increased their acquaintance, and perhaps even their friendship.

Mr. George Ponsonby thought that Mr. Metge (afterwards Baron of the Exchequer) was the fittest person to succeed Mr. Yelverton. This certainly would have been a wiser selection; and Mr. Metge a fitter man; but he was an indifferent speaker. Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Daly, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Grattan, were consulted. Yelverton was for Fitzgibbon; Daly was against him; he was a better judge of men, and used these remarkable and prophetic expressions—"*You are quite mistaken; that little fellow will deceive you all.*" But Government required a bold speaker, and Mr. Fitzgibbon was in consequence named Attorney-general.

Mr. Fox did not augur well of the selection, and in his letter to the Lord-lieutenant he says, in reference to the appointment—and like Mr.

Daly, almost in a spirit of prophecy—"Take care you do not strengthen an enemy, instead of gaining a friend." Lord Northington replied, that Mr. Grattan "had been consulted, and had no objection to act with him."

There is no doubt that Mr. Fitzgibbon's talents alone would have raised him, and that he would have got forward by mere dint of professional knowledge and personal ability; but that he would have been promoted under a popular Government, is another question; and that a man who had so strongly from the outset opposed Irish freedom, should have been appointed by a Government who gained it in despite of his efforts, is much to be wondered at.

Mr. Grattan had the misfortune of being concerned in this transaction, and the demerit of speaking in his favour, and thus destroyed the noblest work that had just been created—

> "From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve
> Down dropped, and all its faded roses shed."

He was, however, requited in a most extraordinary manner, and in a way not usual among Irishmen, who, though their passions are strong, possess feelings in which ingratitude seldom takes a share. The bitterest malignity and the most venomous hostility that ever existed was displayed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, as will hereafter appear. He left no means untried to blemish the character of his former friend and patron—to

beat down his public principles—to counteract every exertion in favour of freedom and of Ireland. He strove to do Mr. Grattan every possible injury—nearly as much as he did to his country;—he only failed to take away the life of the one—he took away the constitution of the other.

The secret history of his appointment was, that Mr. Flood's violence, and the extremes to which he and the Convention proceeded, brought back to power Mr. Scott, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and the enemies of the people.*

At this period, the history of the Volunteers, of Mr. Grattan, and of Mr. Flood, is pregnant with examples, and affords a useful lesson to all men who lead or mix in politics, that they ought to avoid extremes, and above all, be most careful not to involve the people in them. Individuals may escape; or if they fall, they do little injury to the community. The pillars of the State may stand, though wondrous talent be overwhelmed; but with great bodies it is otherwise: they acquire a force that it is difficult to control; and though the leader imagines he may restrain as easily as he can set in motion—be heard as patiently and obeyed as readily when he counsels

* Mr. Grattan used to say, "Contrary to Ponsonby's advice, I pressed for the appointment of Fitzgibbon, *and I have that sin to answer for.* I made him attorney-general; the force of the constitution made him chancellor; and his country and myself were the two peculiar objects of his calumny."

caution as when he calls for boldness, he is mistaken. The same hand that gives the machine the impetus, has not the power to guide its course or restrain its progress; the great mass is carried headlong forward, and precipitates ruin on itself and on those who stand in its path.

The following letter from Mr. Grattan to Mr. Day, shews what was the relation he stood in with respect to the Northington administration. In truth he had very little communication with them, further than supporting the general policy of their measures, and occasionally dining with the Lord-lieutenant. He was not consulted about their plans or proceedings, and therefore Lord Northington could easily say he had no objection to act with Mr. Fitzgibbon. Mr. Grattan never solicited the confidence of any administration, further than he could procure it by his public conduct. He received considerable attention from Lord Northington at the time when he (Lord Northington) thought proper to manifest considerable coldness to Lord Charlemont, Mr. Brownlow, and others. But this was to be attributed to the part the latter took with respect to the Convention. Even here, however, Mr. Grattan went as far as could be expected; for he offered to decline attending privy councils unless Lord Charlemont was summoned.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

My Dear Day,

I saw the Attorney-general* this morning. I could not collect from him that you were one of the list sent in to Government. I did not know that Parliament was to be dissolved on Tuesday, nor can I foresee that I shall be consulted about the names to be in their list. I have had no conversation with them yet about their measures.—If called on, I shall give that opinion which I told to you; which is not my application, but their interest.

Yours sincerely,

H. Grattan.

In March 1784, Mr. Flood brought in a bill for Parliamentary Reform. On this occasion the voice of the people had been expressed, and out of thirty-two counties of which Ireland consisted, twenty-six had petitioned in its favour. But the injury which the question had suffered from the proceedings of the former years was still felt; and though Mr. Flood's bill was read a second time, yet, on the motion that it be committed it was lost by 74; the numbers in its favour being only 85, and against it 159. Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Brownlow, gave it their utmost support. Mr. Denis Daly, Mr. Scott, (Prime Sergeant) and Mr. Fitzgibbon, (Attorney-general) being strongly against it;—and many friends to popular principles were also induced to oppose it.

Disappointed in their object, the people, how-

* Mr. Yelverton.

ever, were determined to proceed.* The spirit which sprung from the Convention of the November of the preceding year, was lulled, but not extinguished. The public mind, which at that time was so much agitated, had not yet been calmed; and persons of less weight and experience began now to assume a leadership with the people. Mr. Napper Tandy, son of a respectable tradesman, an ironmonger, in the city of Dublin, found now an opportunity to commence his political career; and in conjunction with Mr. Ashenhurst, a notary public, assembled a number of the citizens of Dublin in the month of June, and addressed a letter,† signed by nineteen individuals, styling themselves the Committee of the Aggregate Meeting of the city of Dublin, to all the Sheriffs of Ireland; calling upon them to hold meetings of the inhabitants of their bailiwicks, upon the subject of an address in favour of

* In July, 1784, the inhabitants of Belfast applied to Mr. Pitt, and forwarded a petition on reform to the King. In his answer, Mr. Pitt states, that he had undoubtedly been, and still continued a zealous friend to a Reform in Parliament; but that he must beg leave to say that he had been so on grounds very different from those adopted in their resolutions. That what was then proposed, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy.

† Tholsel, Dublin, June 24, 1784.

SIR,

WE, the undernamed Committee of the aggregate meeting of the inhabitants of Dublin, pursuant to a resolution of that body, enclose you a copy of their address to the people, and entreat you will convene the inhabitants of your bailiwick, and lay the same before them, as we

Parliamentary Reform, and to appoint delegates to a Congress in Dublin, to assemble in the ensuing October.

Most of the sheriffs refused to attend to this mandate; a few of them, however, complied. Mr. Flood, along with twenty-six individuals, signed the address to the sheriffs of Kilkenny, to call together his county for the purpose. This request, however, was refused. Mr. Stephen Reilly, the sheriff of the county of Dublin, assembled the inhabitants of that county. General Luttrell and Mr. Gardiner, one of the members, attended and protested against the conduct of the sheriff in assembling a meeting of the inhabitants instead of a meeting of the freeholders. Being out-voted in a motion to confine it to the latter, they retired, and the proposition to elect five delegates to attend the national congress, was carried; as also a resolution to support with their lives and fortunes any plan of reform adopted by that body.

request their co-operation in this great and important business. You will please to signify your intention to the Chairman of this Committee, James Napper Tandy, Esq., No. 13, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin.

James Napper Tandy
J. Talb. Ashenhurst
John Peree
Wm. Hen. Seward
Geo. Joseph Brown
Ignatius Weldon
William Smith
William Arnold
John Ball
John Hodson
M. Ch. Walker
Arthur Nevill
William Burke.

To Nathaniel Montgomery, Esq.
High Sheriff, Co. Monaghan.

This was the subject with which Mr. Fitzgibbon commenced his official career, and of which he availed himself afterwards to invade the rights of his countrymen. In the city of Dublin he personally interfered. The sheriffs having called a meeting, Mr. Fitzgibbon addressed to them the following peremptory letter :—

TO THE HIGH SHERIFFS.

GENTLEMEN,

I have read with great surprise a formal summons signed by you, as high sheriffs of the city of Dublin, calling upon the freeholders and freemen of your bailiwick to meet on Monday next, for the purpose of electing five persons to represent the city of Dublin in National Congress.

I must inform you, that in summoning the freeholders and freemen of your bailiwick to meet for such a purpose, you have been guilty of a most outrageous breach of your duty; that if you proceed to hold any such election, you are responsible for it to the laws of your country—and that I shall hold myself bound, as the King's Attorney General, to prosecute you in the Court of King's Bench for your conduct, which I consider to be so highly criminal that I cannot overlook it.

I am, Gentlemen, your very humble servant,

JOHN FITZGIBBON.

Ely-place, Sept. 10, 1784.

The Government were alarmed at this attempt to assemble another Congress; and Mr. Orde wrote to Mr. Grattan upon the subject, who did not approve of the proceeding by attachment, and it was suggested that counter-resolutions and a pro-

test should be adopted, as the most constitutional course, and preferable to the mode proposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon.

When the sheriff assembled the citizens on the following Monday, he read Mr. Fitzgibbon's letter, and stated the difficulty he was placed in by the threats held out by the Attorney-general, and in consequence he declined to take the chair.

Here Mr. Fitzgibbon gave one of the first indications of that spirit which marked him ever afterwards, as fearless in his proceedings as he was reckless of their consequences. He came forward at once, threw himself in the midst of this popular assembly (he, the most unpopular character), and in the boldest and most undaunted manner, notwithstanding the tumult of disapprobation, defended his letter and his law, and repeated his determination to prosecute the sheriff, if he dared to take the chair and hold the meeting. In this he was supported by Mr. Arthur Wolfe (afterwards Lord Kilwarden), who declared the proceedings on the part of the sheriff were highly illegal; in which he was seconded by General Luttrell (afterwards Lord Carhampton).

In consequence of this mixture of civil and military law, the sheriff declined to hold the meeting, and pronounced the assembly *ipso facto* dissolved.

This was certainly rather an unseemly proceeding for an Attorney-general; but it so far succeeded as to stop any measures of a similar nature,

and thus Mr. Fitzgibbon effectually put an end to the National Congress.

The result of the proceeding was communicated to Mr. Grattan by the secretary, as follows :—

MR. ORDE* TO MR. GRATTAN.

Phœnix Park, 18th Sept. 1784.

Dear Sir.—Since I had the honour of conversing with you upon the subject of the sheriff's summons, I have taken opportunities of collecting the opinions of many gentlemen, particularly those of nearest connexions and interest with this city in point of property and commercial engagements, and I have found them all very eager to take an honourable and decided part in resisting the indecent and dangerous attempts to insult and infringe the laws and the Constitution.

I have reason to hope that the personal attendance of many respectable gentlemen not connected with Government, as the La Touches, &c. will tend to convince the ill-intentioned, that they are not to expect an irresistible success to their mischievous designs ; opposition will therefore be made to putting a question upon the election of representatives for a National Congress. I beg pardon for thus intruding upon your time, being induced only by a belief of the satisfaction you will receive in hearing of a favourable step for the restoration of good order and sub-

* Thomas Orde (afterwards Lord Bolton), married in 1778 to Mary Jane Poulett, natural daughter of Charles Poulett, fifth Duke of Bolton, who, in failure of issue male, entailed on her his entire estates. Thomas Orde was secretary to the Treasury in 1782, and secretary to the Duke of Rutland 1785-7. He enjoyed the estates in right of his wife: in 1795, he assumed the surname and arms of Poulett in addition to those of Orde, and was called to the peerage by sign manual, October, 1797, as Baron Bolton.

mission to the laws and the legislature. I have the honour to be, dear Sir, with the sincerest respect, your obedient and most humble servant,

THOS. ORDE.

MR. ORDE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Dublin Castle, 28th Sept. 1784.

DEAR SIR.—I am very sorry that you should have given yourself the least uneasiness, at the delay of answering the last letter, which I took the liberty of troubling you with; though I at the same time must indulge the most flattering sense of satisfaction in your very obliging readiness to assure me, that my intrusion was not only forgiven, but acceptable.

My Lord-lieutenant is no less sensible than I am of great pleasure, in his successful endeavour to mark attention and respect towards you.

The event of Monday, (20th instant,) will, I hope, indeed prove very instrumental towards the restoration of due order and decorum in the metropolis, and may prove of happy influence throughout the country. It is with the view of confirming it at so seasonable a period, that the friends of Government and of the laws have thought it right to circulate an address,* of which the inclosed is a copy, among the real freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, in the hope of obtaining a very respectable signature to it. The sanction of your approbation would tend greatly to convince us that the measure was right, and the event may be as conducive as its object, to the establishment of tranquillity and order.

* This was an address to the King from the noblemen, gentlemen, freemen, and freeholders of Dublin, expressive of their attachment to his majesty, and their aversion to any attempt at creating unjust discontents in the state. It was signed numerously and respectably.

I find that I am ever putting myself under the necessity of entreating your forgiveness, though I rejoice in every opportunity which I can seize at the same time of repeating the sentiments of real respect and esteem, with which I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and very faithful humble servant,

THOS. ORDE.

In the month of October, when the Congress was to assemble, only a few individuals made their appearance. They met in William Street, and debated with closed doors, unsupported by the upper orders. The Bishop of Derry, who had been so active the year before, did not now appear. Mr. Flood, however, attended for a very short time. He detailed his plan, which, as it did not include the Roman Catholics, was not approved of; and being dissatisfied at the want of support, and disappointed at the thinness of the assembly, he retired; and after a space of three days, the assembly broke up without doing any thing.* Thus were the proceedings of this party completely frustrated.

This should have satisfied the law-officer of the Crown, more particularly, as most of the sheriffs had declined to act on Mr. Napper Tandy's summons, and as addresses had been voted very generally by the freeholders of the several coun-

* They assembled in January in the ensuing year. Passed resolutions in favour of reform, and published an address to the people, rather in a style of exaggeration, mixed however with some truths, on the subject of the defects in the representation of the people.

ties, expressing their satisfaction at such conduct, at the same time upholding their constitutional right, and declaring their sentiments to be in favour of a reform in the representation of the people.

These constitutional indications of a desire to restore order and peace throughout the country, did not, however, answer Mr. Fitzgibbon's object. He took proceedings against Reilly, the sheriff of the county of Dublin, by attachment as for a contempt of the Court of King's Bench, and that as an officer of the Crown he had called a meeting of the description already mentioned.

This, on the part of the Attorney-general, was a strong measure. Its legality was questioned, and most people looked on it as a great stretch of official authority, and quite irreconcileable with the principles of a free constitution. The sheriff was not acting in the discharge of any process or order of the Court, nor in his ministerial capacity. He acted in virtue of his right to assemble the *comitatus* of the county, and as being the *officer* of the people. Such in old times was his title, and so far back as the times of the Edwards, complaints were made of the sheriffs as such. The freeholders of the county used then to elect him, and the legal requisite was, that he should have sufficient land, and not be in the service of any great *Lord;* and until he left that service, he was considered unfit to execute the office for the King and the people.

The Judges of the Court of King's Bench, Lord Earlsfort, (late Mr. Scott, afterwards Lord Clonmell,) Mr. Henn, Mr. Robinson, and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, like most Judges, were anxious to increase their authority and extend the power of their court. They gave very elaborate opinions, defended their right to issue attachments in such cases, and sentenced the sheriff to pay five marks,* or to be imprisoned a week. The punishment was nothing, but the principle was everything.

None of these Judges were, however, looked upon as very profound lawyers. Sir Samuel Bradstreet, who had been Recorder, knew something of criminal law, but none of them were held in high esteem by the profession. The opinions of Mr. Erskine (afterwards Lord Erskine) and other English lawyers, were against the power claimed by the King's Bench; and at the opening of the British Parliament in the ensuing year the subject was mentioned, and in the course of the debate the doctrine of attachments for constructive contempt was severely reprobated.

The proceedings of the people respecting this Congress was alluded to in the speech at the meeting of the Irish Parliament, in January, 1785. The address stated the regret of the House at such lawless and unconstitutional proceedings, and their strenuous endeavours to prevent or punish its effects.

* A mark is 13*s.* 4*d.*

Mr. Isaac Corry boldly avowed that he had accepted the office of delegate to the Congress; and that, if the law officers thought proper to proceed against him by attachment, he was ready to stand forward for the rights and liberties of his country.

Mr. Grattan, who was as much averse to violence on the part of the people, as to any unconstitutional proceedings on the part of the executive, was as decided in his opinion against the attachments, as he was prudent and judicious in his advice to the people, and declared that he would not give that part of his address a silent vote. He spoke as follows:—

"We are called upon to defend the authority of Parliament and the majesty of the people,—the first against encroachment, the latter against misrepresentation. I approve of this part of the address, because it directly strikes at the violent and unconstitutional measures which have disgraced this country since the last session. One would naturally enquire the great call or necessity for all these extrordinary proceedings; one would suppose some great and fundamental principle of the Constitution violated; that the principles of the Revolution were invaded; that the Petition of Right had been infringed; that the great Charter itself had been broken, or that the principles of the Irish Revolution of 1782 had been invaded; that the Parliament of Great Britain had attempted to make laws for us; that the judicature of the Irish Lords had been encroached upon; that the powers of the Council had been revived; or that an army had been perpetuated upon us without consent of Parliament. One would not

have imagined what is the fact—that this country is in full, free, and uninterrupted possession of the benefits of two Revolutions, the English and the Irish; of the fruits of every exertion of both nations; that she is more free than ever she was before 1782, and as free as England at any period. I would now like to draw the attention of the House to the alarming measure of drilling the lowest classes of the populace, by which a stain had been put on the character of the Volunteers. The old, the original Volunteers had become respectable, because they represented the property of the nation; but attempts had been made to arm the poverty of the kingdom. I most sincerely lament the injuries which were done to the popular cause, as of a more lasting nature than those committed against the state. The Government soon recovers from the alarm, and is compensated by increasing its advocates. In regard to the National Congress, it has been declared by some law authorities in this House illegal; this I will say of it, that I do not think establishments of that kind reconcileable to a House of Commons. Two sets of representatives—one *de jure*, and another, supposing itself a representative *de facto*, cannot well co-exist. I condemn this meeting and all other excesses, because they prejudice the reform of Parliament, at the same time that they insult its authority;—they give the business of Reform the cast and appearance of innovation and violence, and vulgarize popular exertion. The enemies of reform insist that it is an innovation, and that the people are too much inflamed to exercise with discretion an accession of power. I am a friend to the principle of reform, and deny both their positions, and lament that any description of men, however free, should give a pretence to such an argument. I dare say some of these men, whose measures I condemn, may mean well;—I am sure that they cannot mean all that their petitions

and declarations proclaim. I think it is fair and friendly to expostulate with them by assuring them that they have been guilty of the wildest indiscretions; that they have gone much too far, and if they go on they will overturn the laws of their country."

This wise advice is justly appreciated in the letters of the Secretary on this subject.

MR. ORDE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Dublin Castle, Tuesday, 24th Jan. 1785.

My Dear Sir,

I was extremely anxious to have an opportunity of paying my respects to you after the debate of Friday, and much concerned to find, on being about to seize the first leisure, that you had gone out of town. I wished to express the sense I felt, out of regard for the country, of the essential service which you rendered to it by your distinguished share in the debate on Friday, and also to entreat an half-hour's conversation on some parts of our commercial plan, which I had not the time to explain so clearly as I desired. The value of your opinion and approbation, in measures intended for the equal good of both countries, I highly appreciate. I am truly impatient to see you, yet very uneasy at the apprehension of disturbing or interrupting your time in the country. I can therefore only allow myself to say, that I shall be very happy to have the opportunity of paying my respects to you as soon as you can conveniently give me the occasion.—I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, with the truest respect and regard,

Your very faithful humble servant,

Thomas Orde.

MR. ORDE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Dublin Castle, 26th Jan. 1785.

My Dear Sir,

I am anxious to have an opportunity, as soon as I may without putting you to particular inconvenience, of conversing with you on many interesting points, which require the earliest consideration and decision. I hope that I may have the satisfaction of hearing that you are likely to be in town within a day or two.—I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, with the truest respect and esteem,

Your very faithful humble servant,

Thomas Orde.

MR. ORDE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Thursday Morning, 17th February, 1785.

My dear Sir,

I take the liberty of troubling you with this scrawl, to express the warm sense which my Lord-lieutenant has of the distinguished part you have taken in those questions, respecting the establishment of good order and just subordination to the Legislature. His Grace is well aware of the most honourable motives which actuate your conduct for the welfare of the country, but cannot deny himself the satisfaction of acknowledging a great share in the benefit, as he hopes ever to manifest the rule of his Government, to be for the advantage of the community. The question announced for this day becomes of great importance, from the consideration of the object that has occasioned it. The thanks to the Volunteers are certainly intended to operate the defeat of the Militia Bill, and I am happy to think that I am fully acquainted with your sentiments upon that subject.

Some of the friends of Government will meet here

to-day at one o'clock, to consider of the manner in which the question of thanks should be met. I would not take the liberty of asking you to meet them, concluding indeed that it would be a more satisfactory mark of respect to you not to desire it; but I cannot so far dispense with a regard to my own interest, as not to entreat you to favour me with any hints which may suggest themselves to you. I shall know how to value them, and am truly sensible of their great use to us all.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your very faithful humble servant,

THOS. ORDE.

On the 24th of February, 1785, the question of attachments was brought forward by Lord Charles Fitzgerald and Mr. Brownlow, who moved :—

"That the proceedings of the Court of King's Bench, in attaching the sheriff and punishing him in a summary way, as for a contempt, was contrary to the principles of the constitution, as depriving him of his trial by Jury, and is a precedent of a dangerous tendency."

Mr. Fitzgibbon on this occasion vindicated his conduct with great warmth. Mr. Curran replied to him and to Sergeant Toler (afterwards Lord Norbury) with great spirit and ability. The Attorney-general, Fitzgibbon, displayed his spleen and temper in a style of language almost exceeding the bounds of Parliamentary decorum. He applied the term "puny babbler" to Mr. Curran for presuming to reflect on the conduct of the Judges. This was not the first time that Mr.

Fitzgibbon had subjected himself to severe retort; and, singular to say, Mr. Isaac Corry, who some years afterwards moved in his train and followed him with such blindness, reproved him for the style in which he addressed the House of Commons, and in a debate a few nights preceding, had addressed him in the following strain :—

"Permit me to observe, that there is an air of *hauteur* with which that right honourable gentleman frequently treats this assembly; and let me assure him that with me, as one individual of it, he is not likely to gain much by the impropriety of that conduct. I wish him to have full credit for just so much as is the extent of his deserts, but cannot agree to his assuming any further consequence over other gentlemen than such as merit demands. The world is too enlightened to take *hauteur* for consequence, or airs for distinction. Airs and pomposity are too trumpery ware for the public market; they may do in light circles, but will not do with men who have had no more than even the advantage of his own charter-school education."

Mr. Curran, in a vein of pleasantry and ridicule, on the present occasion replied to the attack of the Attorney-general : —

"The gentleman had called him a babbler. He could not think that was meant as a disgrace, because in another Parliament, before he had the honour of a seat in that house, but when he was in the gallery, he had heard a young lawyer named Babbler. He did not recollect there were sponsors at the baptismal font, nor was there any occasion, as the infant had promised and vowed so

many things in his own name. Indeed, he found it difficult to reply; for he was not accustomed to pronounce panegyric upon himself: he did not well know how to do it. But since he could not tell them what he was, he could tell them what he was not. He was not a man whose respect in person and character depended upon the importance of his office; he was not a young man who thrust himself into the foreground of a picture, which ought to be occupied by a better figure; he was not a man who replied with invective when sinking under the weight of argument; he was not a man who denied the necessity of a Parliamentary reform at the time he proved the expediency of it by reviling his own constituents, the parish clerk, the sexton, and grave-digger; and if there was any man who could apply what he was not to himself, he left him to think of it in committee, and to contemplate upon it when he went home."

The resolution, however, was lost by 143 to 71. The subject was renewed again by Mr. Flood in a few days afterwards, who moved a resolution,—"That the practice of attachment for contempt of Court stands on the same ground of law in both kingdoms, and ought not to be extended further in Ireland than England." Mr. Flood maintained his doctrine with considerable ability; but the motion was negatived by 120 to 48.

The Attorney-general having so far succeeded in the case of the attachments, having got the Sheriff punished by the Court of King's Bench, intended to proceed similarly in other cases, and so wedded did he appear to be to the doctrine of

attachments, that when it was proposed in Parliament, that the law officers should proceed against the managers of certain public institutions in Dublin, for frauds and malversations in the discharge of their duties, the Attorney-general declared that he saw no other way but by attachment. This was received with general laughter throughout the House, and a dissent in other quarters also checked his legal ardor.

The Magistrates in the county of Leitrim, apprehending, however, that proceedings would be taken against them, made application to Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, and as the matter in a constitutional point of view is very important, his opinion is subjoined.* Thus a more accurate

* *Bath, Jan.* 13, 1785.

SIR,

I feel myself very much honoured by your application to me on an occasion so important to the public freedom; and I only lament that neither my age nor experience are such as to give my opinion any authority with the court in which you practise; but wherever I have no doubts, I am always ready to say what I think; you are, therefore, very welcome to my most public sentiments, if any use can be made of them.

You have very properly confined your questions to the particular case furnished by the affidavit which you have transmitted to me; and my answers therefore need involve in them no general discussions upon the principles of civil government, which in the mere abstract are not often useful, nor always intelligible. The propositions, to which my answers are meant strictly to apply are,

First, whether the facts charged by the affidavit, on which your Court of King's Bench in proceeding against the magistrates of Leitrim, are sufficient to warrant any criminal prosecution for any misdemeanor whatsoever?

idea may be formed of Mr. Fitzgibbon's knowledge and conduct, in a case where the consti-

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Secondly, whether, supposing them sufficient to warrant a prosecution by information or indictment, the court has any jurisdiction to proceed by attachment?

As you are pushed in point of time, I can venture to answer both these questions at Bath, without the assistance of my books, because they would throw no light upon the first from its singularity, and the last is much too clear to require any from them.

As to the first, the facts charged by the affidavit do *of themselves* neither establish nor exclude guilt in the defendants: in one state of society, such proceedings might be highly criminal; and in another, truly virtuous and legal.

To create a national delegation amongst a free people already governed by representation, can never be, under all circumstances, a crime; the objects of such delegation, and the purposes of those who seek to effect it, can alone determine the quality of the act, and the guilt or innocence of the actors.

If it points (no matter upon what necessity) to supersede or control the existing government, it is self-evident that it cannot be tolerated by law. It may be a glorious revolution, but it is rebellion against the government which it charges.

If, on the other hand, it extends no further than to speak with certainty the united voice of the nation to its representatives, without any derogation of their legislative authority and discretion, it is a legal proceeding, which ought not indeed to be lightly entertained, but which many national conjunctures may render wise and necessary.

The Attorney-general might undoubtedly convert the facts contained in the affidavit into a legal charge of a high misdemeanor; which, when properly put into the form of an information, the defendants could not demur to: but he could not accomplish this without putting upon the record averments of their criminal purposes or intentions, the truth of which averments are facts which he must establish at the trial, or fail in his prosecution. It is the province of the jury, who are the best judges of the state of the nation, and the most deeply interested in the preservation of its tranquillity, to say, by their verdict, whether the defendants acted from principles of public spirit, for the support of good government, or sought seditiously to disturb it. The one or the other

tutional rights of his countrymen were concerned, and upon which he staked his legal reputation,

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of these objects would be collected at the trial, from the conduct of the defendants in summoning the meeting, and the purposes of it when met.

If the jury saw reason from the evidence to think that its objects, however coloured by expressions the most guarded and legal, were in effect, and intended to be subversive of Government and order, without adequate objects to vindicate the active attention of the public, they would be bound in conscience and in law to convict them.

But if, on the other hand, their conduct appeared to be vindicated by public danger or necessity, directed to legal objects of reformation, and animated by a laudable zeal for the honour and prosperity of the nation, then no departure from accustomed forms in the manner of assembling, nor any incorrect expressions in the description of their object, would bind or even justify the jury to convict them as libellers of the Government, or disturbers of its peace.

To constitute a legal charge of either of these offences, the crown (as I before observed) must aver criminal intention, which is the offence of every crime; and these averments must be either proved at the trial, or if not inferred, *prima facie*, from the facts themselves, may be rebutted by evidence of the innocent purposes. If the criminal intent charged by the information be not established to the satisfaction of the jury, the information which charges it is not true, and they are bound to say so by a verdict of acquittal.

I am therefore of opinion (in answer to the first question) that the defendants are liable to be prosecuted by information; but that *the success of such prosecution ought to depend upon the opinion which the people of Ireland, forming a jury, shall entertain of their intention of summoning the meeting, and the real bonâ fide objects of the assembly when met.*

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon these principles, because their notoriety has no doubt suggested this novel attempt to proceed by attachment where they have no place; and I cannot help remarking that *the prosecutor (if his prosecution be founded in policy or justice) has acted with great indiscretion, by showing that he is afraid to trust the people with that decision which belongs to them by the constitution: and which they are more likely to give with impartial justice, than the judges whom he desires to decide upon it at the expense of their oaths and of the law.*

and defied the whole bar that was arrayed against him.

This is a strong expression, which perhaps should not have been used in answering the same case in the ordinary course of business; but writing to you as a gentleman, I have no scruple in saying, that the judgment of the court of King's Bench cannot entertain a jurisdiction by attachment over the matter contained in the affidavit which you sent me, *without such a gross usurpation and abuse of power, as would make me think it my duty, were I a member of the Irish parliament, to call them to an account for it by impeachment.*

The rights of the superior courts to proceed by attachment, and the limitations imposed upon that right, are established upon principles too plain to be misunderstood.

Every court must have power to enforce its own process, and to vindicate contempts of its authority, otherwise the laws would be despised; and *this obvious necessity at once produces and limits the process of attachment.*

Wherever any act is done by a court which the subject is bound to obey, obedience may be enforced, and disobedience punished by that summary proceeding. Upon this principle attachments issue against officers for contempts in not obeying the process of courts directed to them, as the ministerial servants of the law, and the parties on whom such process is served, may in like manner be attached for disobedience.

Many other cases might be put, in which it is a legal proceeding, since every act which tends directly to frustrate the mandates of a court of justice, is a contempt of its authority. But I may venture to lay this distinct and absolute limitation of such process, viz. *That it can only issue in cases where the court which issues it has awarded some process, given some judgment, made some legal order, or done some act which the party against whom it issues, or others on whom it is binding, have either neglected to obey, contumaciously refused to submit to,* incited others to defeat by artifice or force, or treated with terms of contumely and disrespect.

But no crime, however enormous, even upon treason and rebellion, which carry with them a contempt of all law, and the authority of all courts, can possibly be considered as a contempt of any particular court, so as to be punishable by attachment; *unless the act which is the object of that punishment be in direct violation or obstruction of something*

On the 17th of February, the House had voted 15,000 men for the army, having before voted

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previously done by the court which issues it, and which the party attached was bound by some antecedent proceeding of it to make the rule of his conduct. A constructive extension of contempt beyond the limits of this plain principle would evidently involve every misdemeanor, and deprive the subject of the trial by jury in all cases where the punishment does not extend to touch his life.

The peculiar excellence of the English Government consists in the right of being judged by the country in every criminal case, and not by fixed magistrates appointed by the crown. In the higher order of crimes the people alone can accuse, and without their leave distinctly expressed by an indictment found before them, no man can be capitally arraigned; and in all the lesser misdemeanors, which either the crown or individual borrowing its authority may prosecute, the safety of individuals and the public freedom absolutely depend upon the well known immemorial rights of every defendant to throw himself upon his country for deliverance, by the general plea of not guilty. By that plea, which in no such case can be demurred to by the crown, or questioned by its judges, the whole charge comes before the jury on the general issue, who have a jurisdiction co-extensive with the accusation, the exercise of which, in every instance, the authority of the court can neither limit, supersede, controul, nor punish.

Whenever this ceases to be the law of England, *the English constitution is at an end, and its period in Ireland is arrived already, if the Court of King's Bench can convert every crime by construction into a contempt of its authority,* in order to punish by attachment.

By this proceeding the party offended is the judge; creates the offence without any previous promulgations, avoids the doubtful and tedious ceremony of proof by forcing the defendant to accuse himself, and inflicts an arbitrary punishment, which, if not submitted to and reverenced by the nation as law, is to be the parent of new contempts, to be punished like the former.

As I live in England I leave it to the Parliament and people of England to consider what is their duty, if such authority is assumed and exercised by their judges: if it ever happens in this country, I shall give my opinion.

It is sufficient for me to have given you my judgment as a lawyer

2,000*l.* to clothe the militia. The country being at peace, such a force was scarcely required, and seemed intended for the purpose of counteracting the Volunteers,—a measure which, if necessary, was chiefly oocasioned by the imprudence of that body.

Mr. Brownlow moved, not, as hitherto, simply the thanks of the House to the Volunteers, but a resolution, which referred to a period of time four years back; namely, "that the Volunteers had

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upon both your questions; yet as topics of policy can never be misplaced when magistrates are to exercise a discretionary authority, I cannot help concluding with an observation, which both the crown and its courts would do well to attend to upon every occasion.

The great objects of criminal justice are reformation and example; *but neither of them are to be produced by punishment which the laws will not warrant; on the contrary, they convert the offender into a suffering patriot,* and that crime which would have been abhorred for its malignity, and the contagion which would have been extinguished by a legal prosecution, unites an injured nation under the banners of the criminal, to protect the great rights of the community, which in his person have been endangered.

These, sir, are my sentiments, and you may make what use of them you please. I am a zealous friend to a reform of the representation of the people in the Parliaments of both kingdoms, and a sincere admirer of that spirit and perseverance which in these days, when every important consideration is swallowed up in luxury and corruption, has so eminently distinguished the people of your country. The interests of both nations are in my opinion the same, and I sincerely hope *that neither ill-timed severity on the part of Government, nor precipitate measures on the part of the people of Ireland, may disturb that harmony* between the remaining parts of the empire, which ought to be held more sacred, from a reflection on what has been lost.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

T. Erskine.

been eminently useful to their country by the protection they had afforded against the foreign enemy, and by their frequent exertions in support of the police."

This motion was ill-timed and unnecessary. A new body of men, giddy and turbulent, had sprung up, and had usurped the functions and the name, but were under very different control from what the original Volunteers had been, and not, as formerly, guided by grave and steady individuals. No doubt, Government had endeavoured, by the introduction of fencible regiments, to supplant the Volunteers; but this they had given up in consequence of the unpopularity of the measure. They made a subsequent attempt, by introducing a militia; and now a sum of money was voted to clothe them, so that the intention of the Government was apparent.

Under these circumstances, the object of the popular party should have been to keep the Volunteers in the back ground; but here they were made the subject of angry debate and invidious reflection, and a new question was raised, which ought to have been avoided,—namely, the propriety of admitting Roman Catholics into corps, teaching them the use, and giving them possession of arms, which by law, they were expressly forbidden to have. They were already in considerable numbers in the corps, and no umbrage had hitherto been openly taken at such a

measure. In the July of the preceding year, the Volunteers, at the Belfast Review, had, in their address* to Lord Charlemont, declared them-

* To General Earl of Charlemont.

My Lord,

With the most sincere veneration for your Lordship's character, and affectionate solicitude for your welfare, the Volunteers assembled at Belfast beg leave again to congratulate your Lordship on your arrival among them, and to wish to your lordship a long continuation of every enjoyment that rank, reputation, and integrity can bestow on a faithful and persevering Volunteer,—unpolluted by the corruption of a court, and uninfluenced by the politics of fluctuating administrations.

We rejoice at the military ardour of a country in which every man is either already enrolled a soldier, or, from a general attention to the use of arms, would in a few weeks be qualified to act in the army of the people; and we pledge ourselves to co-operate with the collective body of our countrymen, in every measure directed to remedy the abuse of power, and the well-known defects in the Commons House of Parliament; defects which threaten the annihilation of our boasted form of Government, and are productive of the highest oppression to the inhabitants of this loyal and independent nation.

Before we bid adieu to our beloved General, permit us, my Lord, to *express our satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which have so long involved us in feud and disunion; a disunion which, by limiting the right of suffrage,* and circumscribing the number of Irish citizens, has in a high degree, tended to create and foster that aristocratic tyranny, which is the fountain of every Irish grievance, and against which the public voice now unanimously exclaims.

To the Delegates of the Volunteer Army reviewed at Belfast on the 12th and 13th of July, 1784.

Gentlemen,

To be possessed of your good opinions, has ever been the highest honour, as well as the greatest pleasure of my life; and the kind expressions contained in your address are now most peculiarly pleasing to me, as I am by them induced to hope that you will pardon me, if now, for the first time, I venture to differ from you in sentiment. From your disapproving the present limitation to the right of suffrage, *I am*

selves favourable to the right of Roman Catholics to enjoy the elective franchise. This had drawn

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to conclude, that you would wish to communicate the elective privilege to our Catholic fellow subjects. This is indeed a matter of nice and delicate discussion; but, as the subject has of late been generally treated, both in conversation and in writing, I have given it every consideration in my power, *and am sorry to say that my decision entirely differs from yours.* The limited nature of what I am now writing, must preclude me from entering into a train of reasoning upon this point; and I shall therefore content myself with declaring, that though *perfectly free from every illiberal* prejudice, though full of good-will towards that very respectable body, *my judgment, as far as it has hitherto been informed, will not suffer me to agree with you.* Neither am I by any means singular among the real friends to reform, in my idea upon this subject: if I were, I should, perhaps, be less ardent in my entreaties to you to desist from a pursuit which would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of our favourite purpose. Indulge not, I beseech you, any opinion which must and will create disunion. Your strength, your honour, your utility consists in concord, which is best maintained by perfect similarity of sentiment. I shall ever most sincerely rejoice at the military ardour of my country, and at the permanency and increase of the Volunteer associations, while they strictly adhere, as I trust they ever will, to the principles on which they were first established, and preserve their original form respecting the members of whom they are composed. The civil army of Ireland has been respectable throughout the world, effectual and safe in its operations, and salutary in its consequences, because it is perhaps the only army on earth, each of whose private individuals has a property in the land it is embodied to defend. Such an army is singular and respectable indeed; and may it never lose a jot of its singularity and consequent respectability!

With you I pledge myself to leave no constitutional mode untried to obtain that more equal representation of the people, without which the constitution is most certainly imperfect. But, while in the sincerity of my heart I make this promise, while I approve and emulate the steadiness of your principles, I must at the same time conjure you to restrain within the bounds of prudent moderation that ardour, which, considering the cause from whence it springs, can scarcely be deemed reprehensible, but which, if unrestrained by cautious wisdom, hitherto the most

forth a reply differing from them in opinion, and unfavourable to the privileges of that portion of his fellow-countrymen. But it is to be observed that at a later period of his life, Lord Charlemont changed his opinion on this subject, and was favourable to their right to sit in Parliament, as well as to vote at elections.

Several corps had likewise expressed opinions in unison with that of Lord Charlemont, and had also resolved not to admit Roman Catholics into their body; and now a new question was started, namely, a right on the part of the Catholics to enjoy the use of arms: and this subject was very

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honourable as well as the most useful attribute of volunteers, would not only tend to postpone that wished-for event, which perseverance, prudence, and time will infallibly bring about, but might plunge this country into the most serious calamities. Let not, my dear and virtuous countrymen, the imprudence of some late measures be, through your fault, productive of consequences worse even than those which are natural to them. Be, as you hitherto have been, prudent, moderate, and firm. Your fortitude can never be doubted. It is the general and acknowledged attribute of Irishmen. But moderation has ever been your peculiar characteristic. By that your renown has been established throughout the nation. All that has been gained, has been by that means achieved;—all that remains will by that be gained. Precipitation alone can dishonour us, and injure the cause we have most at heart!—That the Volunteer associations may ever be, as they hitherto have been, an instrument of good to their country, and that the name of Volunteer may go down to the latest posterity, renowned not only for the assertion of freedom, but for the happiness and aggrandizement of Ireland, is the first and most ardent wish and prayer of him who has the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obliged, faithful, and devoted humble servant,

CHARLEMONT.

July 14, 1784.

artfully introduced into the debate by those who were unfavourable to that class, with a latent view to embitter the public mind. It certainly sowed the seeds of that jealousy and disunion which quickly sprung up and flourished afterward with fatal luxuriance.

This evil Mr. Flood aggravated by proposing an amendment,—"that it was not intended to question the undoubted right of the Protestant freemen to the possession and use of arms." This, however, was rejected on a division, and the amendment by Mr. Gardiner, "that the House fully approved of the conduct of those who, since the conclusion of the war, had retired to cultivate the blessings of peace," was added to the original motion and agreed to.

It was in this debate that Mr. Fitzgibbon passed a high eulogium upon Mr. Grattan, which, as nothing of the sort appears in any of his subsequent speeches, may be presented to the reader. His allusion to Mr. Flood's measure of renunciation was not ill-judged; and if the line of conduct that he adopted afterwards be considered, it is rather a curious document.

"From the first," said he, "I have ever reprobated the idea of appealing to the Volunteers, though I was confident Ireland was in no danger, while they followed the counsel of the man whom I am proud to call my most worthy and honourable friend (Mr. Grattan): the man to whom this country owes more than any state ever owed to any individual; — the man whose wisdom and virtue directed

the happy circumstances of the times, and the spirit of Irishmen, to make us a nation. Sir, I say that, while the Volunteers continued under his influence, I feared no evil from them; but I apprehend what has since come to pass, that, when they should forsake him, designing incendiaries would make them the tools of faction, the instruments of their vile ambition. Let me entreat gentlemen to recollect what has happened. After the 6th George I. had been repeated — after an Irish Mutiny Bill had passed — after the law of Poyning's had been explained — after the judges had been rendered independent—at the moment when the acclamations of the nation were loudest in praise of the man who had most justly become their idol, at the suggestion of some person, everything was changed in a moment, and he was loaded with foul and unmerited calumny, for no other reason but because he ventured to have an opinion of his own, and chose rather to rely on the faith of a brave and generous nation, than on the fine-spun quibbles of a special pleader, which ninety-nine men out of every hundred that joined in the abuse could not understand, and which they would be as ready to censure, if the same instigators that set them on to vilify the saviour of this country, had declared against Renunciation."

This eulogium certainly shows that Mr. Fitzgibbon was not insensible to the service rendered to him by Mr. Grattan, but the feeling very soon changed, and in 1789 was quite obliterated.

CHAPTER VIII.

Committee on Irish trade—Mr. Gardiner's resolutions as to the trade and manufactures of Ireland—Mr. Foster and Mr. Orde's letters to Mr. Grattan on the commercial propositions—Mr. Orde introduces them—New taxes granted in consequence—Credulity of the Irish—The history of the Propositions—Imprudence thereof—Deceitful conduct of Mr. Pitt—Irish propositions, how received in England—Commercial jealousy — Mr. Pitt's twenty propositions — His speech—Petition from the English manufacturing towns—Mr. Burke's letter to Sir John Tydd on the debate—Lord Mornington to Mr. Grattan—Sketch of the debate in the English House—Mr. Pitt's propositions, how received in Ireland—Angry debates thereon—Propositions abandoned—Mr. Grattan to Mr. Day — Extracts from Mr. Grattan's speech.

The year 1783 had proved very unfavourable to agriculture in Ireland. The harvest had suffered considerably, and the distress among the people was very great. A cry was raised throughout the kingdom for protecting duties, and a demand was made that domestic manufactures should be supported and encouraged. In consequence of these circumstances, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed in March 1784, to inquire into the state of Irish trade and manufactures; and several merchants were examined before it, from whose evidence it appeared that the Irish manufactures were exceedingly depressed. The

imports from England were very great, and the exports from Ireland, except in woollen and yarn, inconsiderable.

The Committee had been directed to take into consideration the expediency of granting bounties on the sale of Irish manufactures. Accordingly, Mr. Griffith brought the subject of protecting duties before the House of Commons. On the 2nd of April, Mr. Gardiner proposed four resolutions; namely, "That it appeared to this House that the working manufacturers of Ireland were in the greatest poverty and distress;"—"That the importation of foreign manufactures have of late considerably increased;"—"That this great importation, by impeding Irish manufactures, was the cause of poverty and distress;"—"That the interference of Parliament was necessary to remove these evils."

After a very able speech on the trade and manufactures of Ireland, Mr. Gardiner moved the first of these resolutions. Mr. Foster, however, proposed that the House should go into a Committee, which was accordingly carried. Mr. Gardiner moved that additional duties of 2*s.* 6*d.* per yard should be levied upon drapery imported into Ireland. He said that the Sugar Bill contained a protecting duty; it was first 5*s.* 6*d.*, then 9*s.*, then 12*s*;—that the duties on beer, and on corn and flour, were protecting duties; and the duties on iron and wine, not only pro-

tecting but prohibitory. Mr. Parsons ran into the extreme at once, and moved that 40*s*. should be substituted for 2*s*. 6*d*. Mr. Foster objected to this, and stated that the resolution itself would operate as a non-importation agreement. He denied that protecting duties were the most effectual mode of enriching a kingdom, and opposed it as likely to irritate England. The motion was negatived by 123 to 37.

Mr. Gardiner, after such a division against him, abandoned his resolution respecting protecting duties.

On the 13th of May the subject was renewed in a different shape by Mr. Griffith, who moved an address to His Majesty, setting forth the deep distress of the woollen, cotton, and silk manufacturers, and praying that he would direct his ministers to make such inquiries as might enable them to come forward, early in the next session of Parliament, (in 1785,) with some wise and well-digested plan for the more liberal arrangement of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. This address being amended by Mr. Orde and Mr. Foster, passed without opposition, and laid the ground for the introduction of the commercial propositions, — that intricate and perplexing subject, which raised such heat and jealousies, and which occupied for so long the attention of the Parliament and the people of both kingdoms.

The following letters were addressed to Mr. Grattan when the resolutions were submitted to him, which he seems not to have approved of:—

RIGHT HON. JOHN FOSTER TO MR. GRATTAN.

January 28th, 1785.

DEAR GRATTAN,

I received your letter, and am much flattered and thankful for the free communication of your sentiments.* You have taken up the idea as if it partook of a subsidy in its nature; on which I do not agree with you. It is not a subsidy, nor is it a purchase paid, or to be paid, for any acquisition or security in trade. It is only a declaration, that when our interest becomes equal, by an equal participation in every commercial advantage, with the other constituent parts of the empire, it will be our business to help to take care of our share of the benefit, and to support our common part of defence, protection, and naval superiority, which jointly concern us. A compensation for rights restored, for favours conferred, or for equality, is out of my contemplation; but when rights are restored, we become interested in the preservation of them, and it concerns us to provide a means of securing their enjoyment.

As to the impolicy of it, I ever did say here, and in England:—it were better for Britain to leave the affair to the liberality and ability of the moment, when our aid might be necessary; and still more, if besides the folly of desiring it to be ascertained in the day of our poverty, jealousies and discontent might be roused, which would continue our want of tranquillity, and exasperate instead of soothing. With this impression I have written, as

* This letter could not be found among Mr. Grattan's or Mr. Foster's papers.

forcibly as I could, to London, and I should wish to be allowed to let the very strong argument you have urged to me be known there. Will you allow me to use your letter for that purpose? I think it will have great weight. Its reasoning would have force from any man; but from you, they would be most powerful. With regard to our separate interests, I am satisfied the proportion is favourable in point of quantum, &c. &c.

As yet I have not been able to get information to judge of the situation, of expense and revenue, of this kingdom. The old duties are very backward and very costive; but it is rank folly not to equalize, or at least fix a period, when the present wretched system of borrowing annually shall be stopped. I hope, against we meet, I shall be able to talk to you, and get your advice on that subject. Our present taxes seem to me capable of almost accomplishing the business. If they are not, revolve in your mind whether it be more prudent to equalize now, or by any new tax, while the public mind is prepared for full arrangement, or to run the chance of harassing by taxes, next session, when people will be led thereby to think their situation is never to be settled, and will undervalue our commercial adjustment, if they find taxes unexpectedly succeed it. Ever yours, my dear Grattan, most truly,

J. Foster.

MR. ORDE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Dublin Castle, 16th April, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I am honoured by the receipt of your letter, and sincerely thank you for the open and candid manner in which you have communicated to me your objections to the parts of the bill which you allowed me to send to you. I must, at the same time, express my real concern on finding

your opinion to be unfavourable, as I conceived the explanation thus introduced into the bill to be neither new nor inconsistent with the spirit of the 11th resolution, as originally intended. I am sure that I never understood it in a different way; and I am yet persuaded, that if you will do me the honour of one half-hour's conversation, I shall be able to convince you of the impossibility that any risk can occur to the public, or at all events, that any Government can exist without such a discretionary power; still subject, however, to the future judgment of Parliament upon its conduct.

But I will not attempt here to argue this point. I will trust to your goodness to allow me to speak to you upon the subject.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, with great respect and regard, your very faithful humble servant,

THOS. ORDE.

MR. ORDE TO MR. GRATTAN.

Dublin Castle, Thursday, 21*st April,* 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I had hoped to have found an opportunity of leisure convenient to you, when I might have solicited the honour of a short conversation upon the subject, which seems to have created some doubts in your mind. I am still persuaded that I can explain satisfactorily the matter, and at all events, make it appear to you that there is no departure from the spirit of the 11th resolution, according to the sense in which it was originally conceived. The judgment of Parliament is by no means taken away by the bill. It will remain in the same force as it does at this day, and the nature of the provision regards only the exemption of certain extraordinary and unforeseen objects of the public expense. Government being equally

liable, as now, to the control and censure of Parliament for misconduct upon such articles.

I will not detain you longer than to repeat my wish, that you will on any day after to-morrow allow me the honour of half an hour's conversation with you.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, with great respect and regard, your most obedient and very faithful humble servant,

THOS. ORDE.

The history of the Irish Propositions was as follows:—Mr. Joshua Pim,* a respectable citizen and merchant of Dublin, originated them. He prepared two resolutions, and gave them to Mr. Orde, the Secretary; but told him not to propose them, if they could not be carried on the other side of the water, because their rejection would be more injurious than not proposing them;—he added that probably Mr. Grattan would be got to support them. Mr. Orde replied that he thought they would pass in England, and gave them to Mr. Foster, who took charge of them, and added eight.

Mr. Grattan gave rather a reluctant assent to some part of them, and the eleventh was subsequently added in order to get the English Parliament to agree to them. Mr. Foster then went with them to England, and shewed them to Mr.

* A most active supporter of the rights and privileges of his fellow-citizens, and a steady friend of Mr. Grattan in his election contests in Dublin. His example ought to be remembered, for few such now remain.

Pitt, who came to a perfect understanding with him on the subject, and promised to get them passed in the English Parliament. Accordingly, on the faith of this, they were afterwards proposed and adopted in the Irish Parliament, and 140,000*l.* new taxes were imposed upon the country in consequence.

By these propositions the Irish were to get a power of importing into England through Ireland, which was a great object for a poor country; and for this Ireland was to give the surplus of the hereditary revenue. This hereditary revenue, as has been stated in foregoing pages of this work, had been granted for ever in the time of Charles II. It arose from customs, excise, and hearth duties; so that this was a grant for ever of a fund that must, in the nature of things, have increased, and with the prosperity of the country might become enormous. It was to be disposed of as Ministers might think proper, and led to the encouragement of frauds in the revenue, and to the laying on of oppressive duties and taxes.

These propositions were not intended as an attack upon the freedom of Parliament; but they certainly trenched a good deal upon her powers of legislation; they took from Parliament her right; they mortgaged that right, and the property of the nation, and deprived Parliament of its greatest function. It was a covenant declaring a right, instead of letting Parliament declare it.

These propositions would have been very advantageous to Ireland in a commercial way, though not in a constitutional one; for they would have enabled her to import into England and from the colonies free from heavy duties, and to make the duties that existed in England as low as those that existed in Ireland; but there was in the eleventh proposition a grant of the Irish hereditary revenue as a tribute; in fact, a tax to be paid to England.

The plan was a very imprudent one, not very gracious, and a bad return for what had been gotten for Ireland. It was wrong to allow any question of that sort to arise between the two countries, and should have been cautiously avoided. Ireland had obtained a great deal, and had made great acquisitions, and her policy was to enjoy them and remain tranquil without moving anything. But the cry for protecting duties,—the distress of the manufacturers, and the jealousy of the merchants who thought to become rivals of England in commerce,—the restless disposition of some individuals, and among them Mr. Griffith, a person of little weight,—all these brought the country into a most awkward position, out of which she did not extricate herself without difficulty. She suffered considerably in point of character, and subjected herself to a severe charge, which Mr. Pitt in his speeches took care to make, and which drew from Mr. Fox the

painful remark respecting Ireland—"I would trust her generosity, but not her prudence."

As soon as Mr. Foster had concluded this negociation with Mr. Pitt, and the Irish had agreed to the payment of 140,000*l.* on the faith that the matter had been finally arranged, the scene changed; a new plan was proposed, and Mr. Pitt brought in eighteen new propositions, wholly different from those he had agreed to, which he had never mentioned before, and which he had so made up, that it was impossible they could pass in Ireland.

This was not only a manœuvre played off on Mr. Foster, but a downright cheat upon Ireland, and was not the conduct of a minister, but of a trickster. According to Mr. Pitt's plan, Ireland would have suffered extremely. Mr. Pitt professed to put both countries on an equality; but equality in this case would have been no equality whatever; because one was a poor, and the other a rich, nation. In addition, Ireland was to be bound to adopt such laws as England might pass respecting her commercial concerns. So that the Irish Parliament was made a register of British edicts, and was to pay a tribute to support her navy, and was excluded for ever from the trade to the East.

When these propositions, in the shape of a bill, came from England, they were rejected; and although there was a majority of 19 in favour of the bill, they were very properly dropped, and

never afterwards revived. The Duke of Rutland's government acted fairly and judiciously; Mr. Foster behaved well, and deserved credit for his negociation; but Mr. Pitt's conduct was exceedingly bad, and never was there greater duplicity practised by any minister. Such was the opinion of the individuals concerned in the transaction. A commercial arrangement might have been made, and would have been of use, but certainly not such an arrangement as he proposed.

One object, however, was accomplished; the propositions led to the Union; and coupled with the Regency Question of 1789, and followed by the insurrection of 1798, they effected it.

The groundwork for some commercial arrangement having been laid in the preceding session, Mr. Secretary Orde brought forward, on the 11th of February, 1783, his ten resolutions. Mr. Foster, however, withdrew the 10th to alter it, which was done on the advice of Mr. Grattan, with a view to equalize the revenue and expenses so as to prevent the practice of running in debt.

With a view to meet the objections that might be made to them in England, the eleventh resolution was proposed, by which the surplus of the Irish hereditary revenue was to be appropriated to the support of the navy of the empire; so that England was likely to obtain constantly an increasing sum for the support of her marine. This was objected to by several members, and by Mr.

Flood in particular. However, all the resolutions passed, and were ordered to be laid before His Majesty.

Mr. Foster having held out the prospect of great acquisitions in trade as the result, thought it a good opportunity to get an increase of taxes; and, accordingly, from the hope that the English would accede to the measure, he on the 28th of February, called on the Parliament to raise 140,000*l.* of new taxes, in order that the surplus of the hereditary revenue might at once be handed over to Great Britain. This proposition was acceded to, and Mr. Fitzgibbon used the following remarkable words on the occasion: he said, "he did not suppose the adjustment to which the Irish Parliament had agreed would be rejected by Great Britain; if so, that would lay a *just foundation of jealousy and complaint*. He was never forward to commit the House, neither would he be the first to recede. He wished well to the empire, but Ireland was the object of his preference."

It is a very singular feature in the history of Ireland, that the same arts of deception should have been practised so often, and with such success. In the time of Charles I., Lord Strafford adopted the same mode to get money from the Irish; he pledged the royal word that the King would assent to the Graces; and in the hope that the popular rights and liberties which they con-

ferred would be conceded, he obtained two of the largest subsidies ever levied from an Irish Parliament. On the present occasion the minister induced the Parliament to believe that the propositions would be acceded to, and procured a supply of 140,000*l.* In a few years afterwards, in 1795, the minister again held out hopes that concessions would be made to Ireland, and obtained 200,000*l.* to man the fleet, a larger subsidy than was ever granted before. Again, the third and last time, in 1800, in hopes that further and enlarged concessions would be granted, a total and complete surrender took place, not only of the revenue, but of the body that granted it; namely, the Lords and Commons of Ireland! How justly Mr. Flood's words here apply—"the generous credulity of the Irish nation!"

In England the proceedings in reference to this measure were of a different character. The fears, the jealousies, and the sordid disposition of the mercantile body, were manifested in the strongest manner. On the 25th of January the King opened the session of Parliament in England, and stated in his speech from the throne, that "among the objects that required consideration, he most particularly recommended to their attention the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as were not finally arranged. The system which would unite both kingdoms the most closely, on princi-

ples of reciprocal advantage, would, he was persuaded, best increase the general prosperity of his dominions."

On the 22nd of February, Mr. Pitt moved the House to go into committee, to consider that part of the King's Speech, and the eleven Irish propositions were read from the chair. Mr. Pitt's speech on this occasion was very remarkable. He stated that the people of Ireland called out for protecting duties, and clamour was raised, and suggestions made, in Dublin and elsewhere, to lay duties on British produce and manufactures. He begged them to recollect, that from the revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, until these very few years, *the system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources,*—to make the kingdom subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, *without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens,* or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had however been exploded. It was at once harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive; for however necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, it promoted not the real prosperity and strength of the empire. That which had been the system, counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man.

Ireland was put under such restraint, that she was shut out from every species of commerce. She was restrained from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets, and all correspondence with the colonies of Britain was prohibited to her, so that she could not derive their commodities but through the medium of Britain. This was the system which had prevailed, and this was the state of thraldom in which that country had been kept ever since the revolution. Some relaxation of the system, indeed, took place at an early period of the present century. Somewhat more of the restrictive laws were abated in the reign of George II.; but it was not until a time nearer to our own day, and indeed within the last seven years, that the system had been completely reversed. * * * * There were but two possible systems for countries situated in relation to one another like Britain and Ireland. The one of having the smaller completely subservient and subordinate to the greater; to make the one, as it were, an instrument of advantage, and to make all her efforts operate in favour, and conduce merely to the interest of the other. This system we had tried in respect to Ireland. The other was a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interests of the empire. Such a situation of commercial equality, in which there

was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burdens: and it was this situation in which he was anxious to place the two countries. He stated that he did not apprehend that Ireland could furnish the colonies cheaper than Britain could, as it must be done circuitously and with double duties, double fees, double insurance, double commission, all which would operate against Ireland. As for the East India Company, they had the monopoly of the trade to Asia. The question, then, was, whether it would be wise to give to Ireland liberty of importing, and afterwards of exporting, to England the produce of the colonies in Africa and America.

Mr. Pitt then moved the following resolution:—

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly important to the general interests of the empire that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally adjusted, and that Ireland should be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, when the Parliament of Ireland shall permanently and irrevocably secure an aid out of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the expense of protecting the general commerce of the empire in time of peace."

Mr. Fox strongly opposed this resolution, and the consideration of it was adjourned to a subsequent day. In the meantime, the manufacturers of England took the alarm. London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Pais-

ley, and upwards of sixty of the chief trading towns, petitioned against the Irish resolutions, on the ground that Ireland would get possession of their trade and ruin their manufactures. Eighty thousand manufacturers from Lancashire petitioned the House, complaining that the admission of Irish cottons into England would ruin the manufacture, and annihilate the cotton trade. They were allowed to be heard by counsel at the bar. Accordingly, Mr. Peel,* Mr. Wedgewood, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Walker, and other manufacturers, gave evidence against these propositions as most injurious to England. They formed a general Chamber of Manufacturers of England and Scotland. They assembled in London, and appointed Mr. Wedgewood Chairman; they declared that Mr. Pitt's resolutions were most injurious to their trade and commerce; they stated some facts, which, if true, were remarkable—That England took of Irish manufactures annually, duty free, to the amount of *two millions*, and that Ireland only took from England, duty free, to the amount of 30,000*l.*; and they insisted that Mr. Pitt should have claimed a right to introduce English manufactures duty free, for that all the manufactures that Ireland took from England *did not amount to two millions*,† the quantity that

* Father of the present Sir Robert Peel.

† In 1795 the Irish manufactures exported from Ireland amounted to 3,378,759*l.*, and in 1835, only to 4,310,149*l.* In the latter year the British manufactures imported into Ireland amounted to 4,707,856*l.* as appears from accounts laid before Parliament. Thus the Irish exports

England took, duty free, from Ireland. They then submitted their remedy for all these evils, and resolved, "*That a real union with Ireland, under one Legislature, would take away every difficulty.*"

The Chamber of Commerce of Belfast retorted, on the other hand, and pronounced their opinion, that the resolutions secured the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain at the expense of those of Ireland;—that the 4th proposition reduced the Irish Parliament to the degraded state of merely registering the edicts of a superior assembly, without the power of altering a single iota, and cut up by the roots the independence of the Irish legislature; and that the twentieth enacted that a tribute should be paid by Ireland for ever to England, thus reducing this independent legislature to a mere cypher.

The following letters will throw some light on the subject:—

MR. BURKE TO SIR JOHN TYDD.*

Friday, May 13th, 1785.

My Dear Sir,

This morning, at about eight o'clock, we came to a division

only increased from 3 to 4, and the British imports from 2 to 5. It also appears that in 1825 Great Britain imported into Ireland three millions of yards of woollen, and four millions of cotton goods, and in 1835 she imported seven millions of woollen, and fourteen millions of cotton. The British manufacturers were therefore very wise in calling for that measure "*which would take away every difficulty.*"

* A great friend of Mr. Grattan's, from whom he got the letter.

upon the first resolution, in a committee of the whole House, upon the great business with you. We had a previous division upon adjournment, the numbers of which were 281 to 155;—the second division upon the question, 249 to 125. By the management of Opposition, the time was frittered away till about nine o'clock, by debates upon hearing petitioners upon the iron manufacture, which, after four or five hours' debate was yielded to, and it took up about two hours more. Opposition then contended it was too late to begin a debate upon so momentous a business. But, however, Mr. Pitt got into the statement of it, and in one of the finest, most able, and most eloquent speeches I ever heard, of about three hours, he proposed several amendments, which if I can get a copy of before the post goes out, I will enclose it to you.

The Opposition flatter themselves you will object to them altogether, and that it will affect the point they aim at so much—break up the further consideration of the business between the two countries. The clamour, and the degree of unpopularity they have raised against the Minister is not to be conceived.

Fox confessed that the amendments proposed did in many instances draw out the sting, and do away the strong ground of objection to several of the resolutions; but both he and Lord North contended that there was no necessity whatever for anything more to be conceded to your country, and that no further commercial arrangements ought to have taken place. He spoke ably and full for the purpose he aimed at, and is endeavouring to recover his lost popularity by courting the feelings of the manufacturing bodies and holding up his political opponent as their most dangerous enemy. Lord North would not go into the question, contending that more time should be given to consider the new matter contained in the amendments.

The question, therefore, cannot be said to have been as

yet debated, nor will it be now till Thursday next, upon the report. Fox declared he would fight the whole of it inch by inch; he would debate every resolution, every amendment, and divide the House upon each; that it was a measure that went completely to the destruction of the commerce, manufacture, revenue, and maritime strength of this country.

I hope you on your side know and approve the substance, at least, of the amendments; for if you should not acquiesce in them, I do really fear that your situation is most critical indeed. This is the only moment, in my idea, for Ireland to fix her happiness, commercial and political, upon a solid and firm base. If pertinacity, or an ill-understood punctilio should be suffered to step in, to prevent the operation of the good sense of your country, and prevent our now coming to a final settlement upon some system that may connect the two countries permanently, and for ever lay asleep every motive of jealousy and dispute, every man, either of wisdom or feeling, will soon have reason to regret the day when the question was first stirred among us, and that anything was done to let all *loose from the bands of the old situation*, before due consideration was had upon what should be those of the new. But it is idle, my pressing upon you my private and crude sentiments, ill-digested and inadequate as they must be on a subject of this extensive and very comprehensive nature; but I own I do feel the utmost anxiety upon what may prove the termination of it. What we do upon Thursday next, you may rely upon receiving information of from me.

I am very much concerned to find you have been so long confined and so severely indisposed, and heartily hope this may find you infinitely relieved.—With the truest regard, believe me, dear Sir, Very faithfully yours,

E. B.

LORD MORNINGTON TO MR. GRATTAN.

Stratford Place, June 20th, 1785.

My dear Grattan,

I return you many thanks for your kind letter, which I should have received sooner, but that I have been extremely ill of a fever for these last two or three days; I believe I caught cold at sea. St. George will communicate to you the conclusion of the business with Vernon.* I trust you will think that Hobart and I have done right to the last, and that our honour has not suffered in any part of this strange affair.

I was very sorry to see by the papers, that you had found it necessary to take so strong a part against the propositions, the more so, as I cannot, after a very attentive consideration, discover how they affect the rights of Ireland as established in 1782. It would give me infinite pain to differ with you on so important a question, but I declare I cannot discern the danger you seem to apprehend. I am persuaded that the Administration here never had the invasion of the independence of Ireland in contemplation, and I know that they are disposed to give every consideration to any doubts which you may entertain, and to remove your difficulties if possible. I should be happy to receive your opinion, and to know in what part of the propositions you see a subversion of Irish right. The question is of the first magnitude, and most materially concerns the peace of both countries; those

* This was an affair of a private nature that occurred between Lord Mornington and Mr. Vernon, who in his apology to Lord M. made a violent attack upon his friend Mr. Hobart; in consequence of which the parties proceeded to Calais, where another apology was given, very singular in its nature, but which concluded the business without loss of blood.

whose object is to disturb that peace, have expressed themselves with the greatest triumph in consequence of your speech, and are now endeavouring to turn it to purposes which I know must ever be remote from your mind. Pray let me have the pleasure of hearing from you soon. The propositions are now with the Lords, and likely to remain there till the end of this month. Pray give my best compliments to Mrs. Grattan. My brother desires his to you and to her. We intend to come to Ireland with the propositions.

Believe me, dear Grattan, yours most sincerely,

MORNINGTON.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Pitt brought forward the eleven Irish propositions, but they were so mixed up with amendments, variations, and additions, that they could be scarcely recognized.

Mr. Fox objected to them, as being entirely new propositions, and the reverse of the former. Mr. Burke opposed them, and expatiated on the resources of Ireland. He stated that she formerly had run in debt, but that after 1761 she had advanced so much that she was able to keep up an army of 24,000 men, of which 8000 were sent abroad to fight for Great Britain, and she kept 16,000 at home; that she had sent 33,000 native recruits to fill up the regiments in the British service, and spent 600,000*l.* in Germany to support the war.

Mr. Wilberforce supported these propositions, saying, that the Union was talked of, which he conceived to be the best system, but that it was

impracticable, as Ireland would never consent to it.

Mr. Courtney alluded to the examination of the manufacturers; that one witness had deposed that on a capital of 130,000*l.* vested in the business, he employed 6000 hands at work, but that in Ireland, a manufacturer, Mr. Brooke, with a capital of 80,000*l.*, — (40,000*l.* his own, and 40,000*l.* voted by the Irish Parliament), had employed 10,000 hands on account of the cheapness of labour; and he inferred that hence the freedom of trade to Ireland would prove injurious to Great Britain, and that, in fact, England had already been deprived of the three-fourths of the trade she had formerly enjoyed in exporting to Ireland.

Mr. Fox said, that the sixteenth proposition was worded to excite cavil; that a union was desirable, but by these measures it was thrown farther back than ever; that it was a surrender of the East India Charter to Ireland, and that he never would consent to ask leave of Ireland to renew it; that the fourth proposition threatened the existence of many of the most valuable manufactures in England, and demanded from Ireland a surrender of her liberty and independence.

Mr. Sheridan complained of the insidious conduct of the Minister, in not laying the fourth proposition before the Irish Parliament.

On the 30th May, Mr. Pitt's twenty resolutions

were again brought forward.* Lord North stated, that he did not think there would be any surplus of the hereditary revenue. It was granted for ever by the Act of Settlement, and Charles II. accordingly called no more parliaments; upon which the Irish only granted the additional duties upon customs and excise for two years, which rendered it necessary to have biennial sessions;—that the duties on customs, as appeared from Sir Richard Cox's work on the Revenue of Ireland, who was himself a Commissioner, amounted only in 1634 to 87,000*l.*, and in 1784 only to 86,000*l.*, although the population had increased from one million to 2,300,000. He said that the hearth-money tax might increase, but quit-rents and crown-rents would not. He pressed Mr. Pitt very severely, and in reply to him, said, "*that he had a mind that finds gratification in invective.*"

Sir James Erskine said that the whole of this was an insult to Ireland—to have resolutions proposed there by the British Minister, and then to find them returned from England totally different in spirit and principle;—that Ireland could not be satisfied.

Lord Beauchamp said that the fourth resolution trenched upon the Act of Renunciation, by which Great Britain pledged herself not to renew her legislative power. This, he conceived, was iniquitous in the highest degree.

* See Appendix, No. 3.

Mr. Courtney said that the people of England amounted to eight millions, and their expenses, at 10*l.* a-head, would be 80,000,000*l.*; yet the taxes, with their enormous debt, were not one-sixth of the income of the people. In Ireland, the population was 2,500,000, — the expense per head, say about 2*l.* 10*s.*: that would be a capital of 6,250,000*l.* per annum. Ireland raises in taxes 1,500,000*l.*, that is, near one-fifth of her income. The Irish quit-rents and hearth-money were 110,000*l.* a-year; so that she paid 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, both in peace and war. The rents of Ireland were only two millions a-year, while those of England were twenty-one millions.

Sheridan complained that the plan had been *moved with duplicity and explained with equivocation.*

Mr. Fox concluded a speech with these remarkable expressions: "*I will not barter English commerce for Irish slavery — that is not the price I would pay, nor the thing I would purchase.*"

After long and violent debating, in which much party spirit appeared on both sides, Mr. Pitt's twenty resolutions passed the House of Commons.

These proceedings have been thus particularised, because they were of much importance to both kingdoms: they showed their relative situations, and disclosed the secret springs that moved, and the spirit of monopoly that influenced, the political movements; and above all, that commercial jealousy which every where creates

so many enemies. The indirectness (to use no harsher term) which the minister exhibited on this occasion, caused him to fall in the good opinion of many among the Irish people, and filled with distrust the minds even of his political friends.

The reception, however, that awaited Mr. Pitt's propositions in Ireland was very different from that which he expected. The Irish House of Commons had adjourned for a fortnight in order that time might be given to the British minister to fulfil the promise he had made to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer. But when the twenty* English propositions appeared, they threw the entire country into a flame. Mr. Grattan, who had assisted Mr. Orde and Mr. Foster in forwarding the ten Irish propositions, considered the new resolutions as most injurious to Ireland,—a direct attack upon her legislative authority,—and a breach of faith with Mr. Foster; and he protested against them in the strongest manner. Mr. Conolly also declared that he had voted for the new taxes in the confidence that the Irish resolutions would be agreed to, but that now all confidence was lost. Mr. Denis Browne even displayed the character of a patriot; he reprobated the idea of a union which had been suggested in England—an idea which he said he was almost afraid to mention; "*for what union*

* See Appendix, No. 3.

could we have with Great Britain but the union of debt and taxation—depriving us of liberty, and ruinous to our country."*

On the 12th of August, Mr. Orde moved the propositions in the shape of a bill, such as Mr. Pitt had introduced into the British House. It encountered, however, a most formidable opposition. Mr. Grattan, Mr. Flood, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Corry particularly distinguished themselves; and after a long debate, the motion was carried only by a majority of 19: ayes 127, noes 108.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Orde presented his bill, declaring, however, that it was not his intention to press it in the course of this session. The subject was dropped, and never afterwards renewed. Dublin was illuminated in consequence of the defeat of these propositions, and resolutions expressive of joy and congratulation, were passed at public meetings, and by the grand juries throughout the country.

The speech which Mr. Grattan delivered on the 12th of August, was distinguished for its elevated style and for its ability. The subject was one which possessed peculiar interest for him, as it involved an attack upon the Constitution that he had helped to create. By this speech he was restored to his former popularity, and was praised

* "Oh si sic omnia!" — Subsequently he was one of its most strenuous supporters.

by the very men and the party that had before so much assailed him;* and again he became the favourite of the people.

In a letter to Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Corry writes an account of the debate as follows:

"I congratulate with you on 108 minority, against 127. The business never can go on. They were astonished, and looked the sorriest devils you can imagine. Orde's exhibition was pitiful indeed,—the support of his party weak and open to attack,—the debate on their part really poor. On ours, Conolly, O'Neill, and the other country gentlemen, strong and of great weight,—Grattan able and eloquent in an uncommon degree,—every body in high spirits, and altogether a force that was irresistible; we divided at nine this morning, on leave to bring in a Bill for the settlement. The ground fought upon was the fourth resolution, and the principle of that in the others. The commercial detail did not belong accurately to the debate, though some went over it in a cursory way. Grattan, two hours and a half; Flood, as much; the former brilliant, well attended to, and

* The following was one of the numerous remarks that appeared in the publications of the day:—

"Mr. Grattan, by his late noble conduct in standing forth again the champion of his injured country, has revived the *drooping* laurels that once crowned his fame, and reared a monument in the hearts of his fellow subjects that no time will destroy, but which may justly said to be *ære perennius*. His having declined the perhaps hurtful practice of an uniform opposition to all the measures of Government, and reserved himself for some great occasion equal to the exertion of his talents, and demanding all the fervour of his patriotic zeal, will render his labours at present more successful, and put the irrevocable seal to the purity of his principles. His country hails him like some friendly star breaking forth on the benighted mariner, almost overwhelmed by the pitiless storm."

much admired; the latter tedious from detail, of course, not so well heard, and answered by Foster in detail, to refutation.

"The Attorney-general defended the Constitutional settlement under the fourth resolution principle. Orde mentioned the opposition in England twice in his opening speech, with imputations, or insinuations at least, not very favourable. You were not left undefended. Forbes exerted his warm attachment to you with great effect. Burgh, the flag-ship of the Leinster squadron, gave a well-supported fire pointed against Pitt, and covering you. Hardy, (the Bishop of Down's friend) in a very elegant speech, gave you due honour; and I had the satisfaction of a slight skirmish, which called up the Attorney-general," &c.

On the 15th of August, Mr. Corry writes,—"I wish you joy a thousand times of our complete victory. Orde has offered the bill, moved its being printed for his own justification to the country, and no more of it this session. We have the effects of a complete victory."

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Tinnehinch, 1785.

My Dear Day,

Looking over the publication, I see a mistake in page 32, line 14: the word "constitution" should be "*connexion*;" and in page 36, line 26, the word "constitutional" should be "*un*constitutional;" they may be set right in the errata.

The publication of the advertisement has not yet appeared; the first speech of mine is very well taken, and so is the last; but the second speech I never spoke; in that I am made to say what is self-evidently impossible I should

say; there I am made to say that we get the colony trade, on condition of excluding foreign colony produce,—whereas the contrary is the purport and tenor of my uniform declarations. Mr. Foster's argument was, that foreign trade was not affected; my position the contrary. His proof was, that our trade in European produce was not affected; my proof that your trade in the produce of all foreign plantations, and the neutral countries in Asia and America, was affected. My second speech, as far as the substance went, was correctly taken in the Hibernian of the 17th and 19th of August, and if Byrne should publish a register, caution him that he may take my speeches on Monday 15th, from them, not from Woodfall; however, this cannot be remedied now in Woodfall's publication. I wish you could procure for me the Hibernian of the 17th or 19th of last August. Yours, most sincerely,

H. GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Tinnehinch, Sept. 1785.

MY DEAR DAY,

I wish you would take the enclosed to the Dublin Evening Post, and get them to publish it three times. It perhaps should be paid for as an advertisement. I think it material to correct the error, for this reason,—the Government affected to say we did not understand their Bill, which they themselves misstated and obscured. I request you will call on Whyte, the printer of the work, and request he will write to Woodfall immediately, in order to correct in the English editions, those mistakes; and further, I wish you would get Whyte to assure Woodfall at the same time, that it is the most correctly taken debate I ever read. In page 29, line 20, the word "extension" should be *extinction;* and in page 33, line 37, an *and* should be inserted between the

words "God—the community." I wish Whyte would alter this with his pen. Yours sincerely,

H. GRATTAN.

The following are some of the principal passages in Mr. Grattan's speech on the occasion :—

"I would not harbour a slavish principle, nor give it the hospitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty! Slavery is like any other vice,—tolerate, and you embrace. You should guard your constitution by settled maxims of honour, as well as wholesome rules of law; and one maxim should be, never to tolerate a condition which trenches on the privileges of Parliament, or derogates from the pride of the island. Liberal in matters of revenue—practicable in matters of commerce: on these subjects I would be inexorable. If the genius of old England came to that bar, with the British Constitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains, or all that she has lost of commerce, I should turn my back on the latter, and pay my obeisance to the blessings of her Constitution. * * * * I beseech you to consider that situation, and to contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to surrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the British plantations, in certain articles, without reference to British duties; that you have a right to trade with the British plantations in every other article, subject to the British duties; that you have a right to get clear of each and every part of that bargain; that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, subject to your own unstipulated duties; that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America; that you have a right to an experimental trade in countries contiguous to

which Great Britain has established her monopolies; the power of trade this, and an instrument of power, and station, and authority in the British Empire! Consider that you have likewise a right to the exclusive supply of your own market, and to the exclusive reserve of the rudiment of your manufactures; that you have an absolute dominion over the public purse, and over the collection of the revenue. If you ask me how you shall use these powers, I say—for Ireland, with due regard to the British nation: let them be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connection; but when the mover of the bill asks me to surrender these powers, I am astonished at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exerted every nerve in 1779!—that free constitution, for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the service of the empire; but—our liberties? No: we received them from our Father which is in heaven, and we will hand them down to our children! * * *

"In the meantime, we will guard our free trade and Constitution as our only resources: they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action! We should recollect that this House may now, with peculiar propriety interpose, because you did with great zeal and success, on this very subject of trade, bring on the people; and you did, with great prudence and moderation, on another occasion, check a certain description of the people, and you are now called upon by consistency to defend the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preserve this island long, and preserve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the Constitution of the country, you will command and ensure her tranquillity: for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the Ministers

of the Crown. It is not public clamour, but public injury that should alarm you: your high ground of expostulation with your fellow-subjects has been your services: the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island! Make your third great effort: preserve them, and with them preserve, unaltered, your own calm sense of public right, the dignity of the Parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island: keep them unsullied, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unstipendiary! These paths are the paths to glory: and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace. So shall the posterity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the blessings of Constitution and of commerce, bear attestation to your services, and wait on your progress with involuntary praise!"*

* For list of the division on this debate, and the Irish propositions, see Appendix 4.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Orde abandons his Commercial Bill—Mr. Curran's Speech—Mr. Fitzgibbon's attack upon Ireland—Repelled by Curran and Flood—Attack of Fitzgibbon upon Curran—Curran's Retort—Duel—Anecdote respecting the debate—Speaker Pery resigns—His letter to the House—Letters of Mr. Grattan, Pery, and Conolly—Close of the Session—Exports and Imports of Ireland—Prosperous state of the Country—Gay Court of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland—Amicable intercourse of all parties—Poem of Sir H. Langrishe on the Duchess—Meeting of Parliament in 1786—Pension List—Disturbances in the South ensuing from Tithes—Riot Act—Navigation Act—Clause of Sacrilege introduced by Mr. Fitzgibbon—Mr. Grattan's Speech—Mr. Fitzgibbon's attack on the English Opposition and on Mr. Grattan—Reply of the latter—Mr. Orde submits a plan of Education for Ireland.

On the 15th of August, 1785, Mr. Orde presented his bill, and moved that it should be read a first time and printed, in order that it might be circulated through the country. This was carried, but not without several negative voices.

Mr. Flood next proposed a resolution—"That Parliament ought not to enter into any engagement to give up the sole and exclusive right to legislate for Ireland, as well externally as commercially and internally." In order to supersede this motion, the question of adjournment was proposed, and a long debate took place, when Mr. Orde declared that he would not press the bill any farther, or renew it next year if the sense of the country was against it.

Mr. Curran congratulated the House and the country, on the escape they had from this bill.

"The bill is at an end. The cloud that had been collecting so long, and threatening to break into tempest and ruin on our heads, had passed harmlessly away. The siege that was drawn round the Constitution was raised, and the enemy was gone. *Juvat ire et dorica castra*,—and we may now go abroad without fear, and trace the dangers from which we have escaped. Here was drawn the line of circumvallation that cut us off for ever from the eastern world, and there the corresponding one that enclosed us from the west; nor let us, in our exultation, forget to whom we are indebted for this deliverance. Here stood the trusty mariner, Mr. Conolly, on his old station, the mast-head, and gave the signal!—Here Mr. Flood: all the wisdom of the state was collected, exploring your weakness and your strength, detecting every ambuscade, and pointing to the hidden battery that was brought to bear on the shrine of freedom; and there, Mr. Grattan was exerting an eloquence more than human—inspiring, forming, directing, animating to the great purpose of your salvation."

The Attorney-general stated that the resolution of Mr. Flood was an insult to the Parliament of Great Britain. "If Ireland," said he, "seeks to quarrel with Great Britain, she is a besotted nation. Great Britain is not easily roused, nor easily appeased. Ireland is easily roused, and easily put down."

The Attorney-general was here repeatedly called to order, and warmly pressed by Mr. Flood; who said "he had never heard more mischievous or

more inflammatory language, nor more saucy folly." Mr. Foster proposed that these words be taken down, but afterwards withdrew the motion.

The Attorney-gen. persevered and said—"The politically insane gentleman (Mr. Curran), has asserted much, but he only emitted some effusions of the witticisms of fancy. His declamation indeed was better calculated for the stage of Sadlers Wells than the floor of a House of Commons. A mountebank with but one half the honourable gentleman's theatrical talent for rant, would undoubtedly make his fortune. However, I am somewhat surprised he should entertain such a particular asperity against me, as I never did him any favour. But, perhaps the honourable gentleman imagines he may talk himself into consequence; if so, I should be sorry to obstruct his promotion: he is heartily welcome to attack me. One thing, however, I will assure him, that I hold him in so small a degree of estimation, either as a man or a lawyer, that I shall never hereafter deign to make him any answer."

Mr. Curran retorted: he says—"I have poured forth some witticisms of fancy. That is a charge I shall never be able to retort upon him. He has said, I am insane. For my part, were I the man, who, when all debate had subsided: who, when the bill had fallen to the ground, and the bill was given up, had risen for the purpose of pronouncing an inflammatory speech against my country, I should be obliged to any friend who would excuse my conduct by attributing it to insanity. Were I the man who could commit a murder upon the reputation of my country, I would thank the friend that would excuse my conduct by attributing it to insanity. Were I a man possessed of so much arrogance, as to set up the ideas of my own little head against the opinion of the nation, I would thank the friend who would say—'Heed him not, he is insane;' nay, if I

were such a man, I would thank the friend who would send me to Bedlam. If I knew one man who was easily roused and as easily appeased, I would not give his character as that of the whole nation. The right honourable gentleman says he never came here with written speeches. I never suspected him of it, and I believe there is not a gentleman in this House, who, having heard what has fallen from him, will ever suspect him of writing speeches. But I will not pursue him further—I will not combat with a young fencer. When a pass is made at me by a young arm, I will content myself with warding it off,—I will not enter into a conflict in which victory can gain no honour. The right honourable gentleman should have known that on former occasions I was merciful in my resentment."

During the debate, an amusing incident occurred. Mr. Flood was high in wrath with Mr. Fitzgibbon, who had replied very sharply to him. Flood felt it, pressed Fitzgibbon very much, and used a strong but apposite expression, "that he had never heard more saucy folly." Every one thought that Fitzgibbon would have noticed this; and he was well provided with a reply,—for Denis Daly had prepared one, intending to attack Flood for his conduct in the Convention; but not using it, he gave it to Yelverton. Yelverton did not use it, and gave it to Fitzgibbon. Thus Fitzgibbon went to battle in another man's armour. But he did not like to encounter such an antagonist as Flood, and declined to use it. The Speaker, who recollected the circumstance, and apprehended some mischief, very fortunately was taken ill, or

pretended to be so, and thus the philippic was lost, and an unseemly quarrel very fortunately avoided.

The result of this reply of Mr. Curran, was a message from Mr. Fitzgibbon. The matter might have been adjusted, had it not been for the meddling of some of the people about the Court, who, as in many cases seek only to do mischief, not having at heart the interest of the parties. Mr. Ogle was second to the Attorney-general. He was a man of courage certainly; yet the matter terminated in a manner by no means creditable to his friend. The parties were to fire by signal. Mr. Fitzgibbon did not do so, but reserving his fire, he took deliberate aim at Mr. Curran, and having missed him, he walked off the ground without receiving or even asking for an apology, or firing a second time, although he had been the challenger, in a case where the object was to obtain satisfaction. Mr. Curran observed to him, "It was not *your* fault, Mr. Attorney, if you missed me, for you were *deliberate enough*."*

* In the "Recollections" of Curran, by Mr. Charles Phillips, and in the Life of Curran, by his son, this duel is represented as arising from the charge made by Mr. Fitzgibbon against Mr. Curran in the debate of the 24th of February, that he was a "puny babbler;" whereas it was a public and not a private cause, and took place six months after, on the subject of the Propositions (15th August), from the attack of Mr. Fitzgibbon, not on Mr. Curran, but *on his country*. Mr. Grattan was in the House, and was at this time on good terms with Fitzgibbon, and probably did not wish to press him. Curran got up to reply, and did it well. This no doubt was one of the causes of the enmity that subsisted between the parties ever after.

The advanced age of the Speaker, who was now sixty-seven, and the decline of his health, induced him to resign his office, which he had filled with so much credit to himself for upwards of fourteen years. He was succeeded by Mr. Foster. Mr. Denis Daly, in proposing a vote of thanks, observed that the House was peculiarly called upon to treat the retirement of such a man with every mark of respect, and to demonstrate in what high esteem they held his integrity, his wisdom, and his moderation, and to prove that turbulence and meanness were not the only roads to preferment. He moved,—

"The thanks of the House to be given to Mr. Pery for his constant and unwearied attendance in the chair during the course of above fourteen years, in three successive parliaments,—for the unshaken integrity and steady impartiality of his conduct there, and for the indefatigable pains and uncommon abilities with which he had constantly exerted himself to promote the real interest of this country, to maintain the honour and dignity of Parliament, and to preserve inviolable the rights and privileges of the Commons of Ireland."

For these services he was compensated with a pension of 3,000*l.* a-year for life, together with a peerage. Mr. Grattan's letter on this occasion is an additional testimony that public worth could be appreciated and rewarded as it deserved.

MR. PERY TO MR. FOSTER.

Sept. 7th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I have this moment received your very kind letter of

yesterday, inclosing the resolution of the House of Commons, which confers on me the highest honour. The first object of my wishes has been to deserve their approbation, and that resolution has satisfied the utmost of my ambition, and left to posterity a noble monument of their favour. No words can express with sufficient force my gratitude, or what I feel. The only return I can make, will be to offer up to Heaven *my constant and fervent prayers that the Commons of Ireland may ever preserve the Constitution of the kingdom entire; and that their conduct may be rewarded by the approbation of their sovereign and the confidence of the people.*

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, esteem, and regard, dear Sir, your most obliged and most obedient servant,

EDMUND SEXTON PERY.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. PERY.

Tinnehinch, Sept. 15, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,

There was nothing which gave me more concern than the want of an opportunity of bearing the testimony of one man, in common with every one else, to the merit of the person who lately filled the chair of the House of Commons. The question of thanking him was so rapidly put, and so greedily assented to, that I had not a moment's time to gratify my private feelings, and to fulfil a public duty. Had I been fortunate enough to have done so, I should have said that the first man who, in the Parliament of this age, denied the supremacy of Great Britain,—the first man who conceived a demand of trade,—and the person who in his closet formed and drew the most productive acts for the strength and prosperity of this country, was the late Speaker, *who did good without looking to fame, and who*

tempered public zeal with a discretion that gave it decorum and efficacy.

Could I form a wish to perpetuate the independency, character, and pride of our House of Commons, it would be that the members should retain undiminished the full, the deliberative powers of the legislature, and that the person who fills its chair should resemble his predecessor.

I am, dear Sir, with the greatest respect and regard,

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. PERY TO MR. GRATTAN.

17*th Sept.*, 1785.

MY DEAR GRATTAN,

Though I am sensible your friendship has much overrated my merit, yet I confess I feel an honest pride in the approbation of a man whose opinion has, and deserves to have, the greatest weight with the public; nor is my mind less elated by the marks of *his* friendship whom I esteem most highly, and love most sincerely.

I am, my dear Grattan,

Your most obliged and most affectionate

EDMUND PERY.

Notwithstanding the declaration of the Secretary, apprehensions were still entertained that something respecting the propositions might be introduced in the address at the close of the session. This apprehension seems to have roused even Mr. Conolly, who was not in general conspicuous for taking an active part against the Government. His vigilance upon the occasion was, therefore, more striking. He wrote to Mr.

Grattan, to request his attendance at the conclusion of the session.

MR. CONOLLY TO MR. GRATTAN.

Castletown, Saturday morning, Sept. 3, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I know that something is intended to be brought into the address to the Lord-lieutenant, which may be productive of future mischief. I therefore hope to see you in the House upon that occasion; for although we cannot divide, from the want of numbers, yet such an *attempt,* at this season of the year, with the greatest part of the members *absent,* ought, as old Tisdal says, to be *observed upon.* If nothing but compliments and words of course were to compose it, I think that a word ought not to be said.

I am, dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

THOS. CONOLLY.

When the House met, Mr. Orde proposed that Mr. Foster should take the chair as Speaker, which was agreed to without opposition; and the next day, the session closed with a speech from the throne, in which the following allusion was the only one made to the propositions:—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Although the very advanced season of the year renders it expedient to conclude the present session of Parliament, I flatter myself that the great object of adjusting a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, has not in vain engaged your attention and protracted your deliberations. You have repeatedly expressed your wishes for the attainment of an equitable settlement, and I have the satisfaction to observe that you continue to be impressed with a true sense of its necessity and importance. You will have now

the fullest leisure to pursue your consideration of the subject in private, with that dispassionate assiduity which it so eminently deserves."

Notwithstanding the ill-humour that had been produced by the failure of the question of Reform, —by the unconstitutional proceedings on the subject of the attachments, — and, lastly, by the propositions, it is certain that Ireland now began to reap the benefit of her late exertions.* Her trade and her commerce were increasing; her taxes were inconsiderable, and her debt was light,

* In proof of the benefits resulting from the free trade obtained in 1779, it appeared that in the commerce with the West Indies, Ireland imported in 1781, 7,000 cwt. of sugar; in 1782, 18,000 cwt.; in 1783—1784, 33,000 cwt.

Exports from Ireland to Great Britain in 1781.

Of Irish produce	£2,180,215 7 11½	
Of foreign goods	7,191 7 1¾	
		£2,187,406 15 0¼

Imports from Great Britain to Ireland in 1781.

Of British produce.	£1,579,746 0 10	
Of foreign goods	852,671 13 0	
		£2,432,417 13 10
Balance in favour of Great Britain, and against Ireland ..		£245,010 18 8¾

Exports from Ireland to Great Britain in 1782.

Of Irish produce	£2,699,825 13 1½	
Of foreign goods	9,941 4 6¼	
		£2,709,766 18 2

Imports from Great Britain to Ireland in 1782.

Of British produce	£1,529,359 1 11½	
Of foreign goods	828,587 8 9	
		£2,357,946 10 8½
Balance in favour of Ireland....		£351,820 7 6¼

amounting only to 1,584,520*l.*; the balance of trade was in her favour, her exports exceeding four millions, her imports exceeding three. The office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which had hitherto been held by an absentee residing in England, had, by the late Lord-lieutenant, been (as it was termed) brought home to Ireland. Mr. Gerard Hamilton had resigned; Mr. Foster, and after him Sir John Parnell, was appointed in his place. The nobility and gentry were mostly resident and expended their incomes in their country, and among their tenants, instead of drawing their rents to squander in a foreign land. The business of Parliament and the gay court that was now held in Dublin, attracted and detained the proprietors of the soil, and in some degree remedied the evil occasioned by a circumstance which is peculiar to Ireland, namely, that the great portion of the territory is held by British absentees, who usually live in England, and draw thither the resources of the island, leaving the people deprived of the benefits that follow from their example, their encouragement, and their protection. The landlords began to improve their estates, and the admission of Roman Catholics to purchase landed property gave new life and spirit to industry, and all held out the fair prospect that the country and her inhabitants would become prosperous and flourishing, and that a peasantry would soon appear the pride and orna-

ment of a nation. Such were the pleasing prospects that presented themselves at the period of the Duke of Rutland's administration.

No hostile disposition was evinced towards the people; and, with some few exceptions, which were produced more by the character of the individual than by the complexion of the Government, it may be said that, from 1783 to 1788, the administration was friendly to Ireland. Mr. Foster's Libel Bill, introduced April 1785, certainly was of an arbitrary nature. However, the clause that compelled printers and publishers of unstamped papers to prove where they received them, and subjected them to fine and imprisonment, by warrant of a justice of the peace, was withdrawn, and also that one which obliged printers to give 500*l.* security to meet any civil suit that might be instituted against them.

The Duke of Rutland was by no means a bad Governor. He was a weak man, and he was young, but of gallant bearing, and great spirit; handsome in his person, and pleasing in his manner, the true descendant of the celebrated and popular Marquess of Granby. His government, though expensive and dissipated, was not a bad one; it certainly added to the pension list, and committed some acts that were below its dignity; but these could scarcely be set forth as national grievances, or form a ground for general complaint.

His Court was gay, luxurious, and extravagant,* and was upheld by a splendour hitherto unprecedented, and since unequalled, but to whose dissipation he unfortunately may have been considered to have fallen a victim. The Duchess, so distinguished for her beauty, became not only the object of attraction, but even of more than admiration. General Cradock, Denis Daly and Sir Hercules Langrishe, were high on the list of votaries and admirers; and while the Duchess adorned the revelry of the Castle by her smiles and charms, Sir Hercules enlivened it by his wit and mirth. Ministerialist and oppositionist seemed to have laid down their

* There was in Parliament a good-humoured character, one Godfrey Greene; he was often a guest of the Duke of Rutland, fond of the table, of conviviality, of joking, and of telling long stories; the latter he sometimes introduced in the House of Commons; and on one occasion he complained of the size of wine bottles, and lamented that no law was passed on the subject to make *a quart bottle contain a quart*. In the violence of his action, his dress became discomposed, and his waistcoat got unbuttoned. To amuse the Lord-lieutenant, Mr. Richard Martin, who was a very good mimic, used to take him off making this speech, but he went rather too far, and instead of taking out half, pulled out the whole of his *chemise*. The Duke, who liked Greene, for he always supported the Government, took his part, and said, "No, not quite so much,—poor Greene was not so *profuse* as you, Mr. Martin."

Some of the ministry asked for an office for Greene, and on conversing with the Lord-lieutenant, said, "But what shall I tell him you are giving it to him for? shall I tell him it is because he voted against the Declaration of Rights?" "No," exclaimed the Duke, "no, don't say that." "Well, shall I tell him it is because he voted against the repeal of Poyning's Law?" "No, damn it, don't say that." "Well, shall I tell him it is because he voted for the Embargo?" The Duke perceiving the satire, replied, "Oh, no, tell him it is because he is a damned honest fellow!"

arms at the feet of beauty in search of repose and enjoyment. These gratified the taste, though they somewhat impaired the dignity of the Court, and inflicted a wound upon the morality of the island, which has ever been its proud characteristic. This mixture of refined gallantry, and the cessation of political hostility, seemed to be the reward of those political warriors, and a compensation after all their toils. They had succeeded in 1782, they had got over the difficulties of 1783, and the Volunteer Convention; they got rid of the propositions, and they relaxed from their labours in 1785, and 1786; the lively disposition of the nation, and the gallantry of her people expanded itself with freedom and without reserve, and all parties seemed disposed to enjoy some pleasant moments under this administration; every one sought to add to the gaiety of the hour. Celbridge and Vanessa's bower were here invoked. Dean Marlay, then the possessor, contributed his taste and talent to the amusements of the day. Parties were given in honour of the Duchess, and having expressed a wish to tread this classic ground, she was introduced by Langrishe to the sacred spot, and placed, a second Vanessa, in Swift's favourite bower, where, attired in the character of a labouring man, he presented the following verses to her Grace, probably with a moral not more severe than that of the famed dignitary of the church, and with an attachment to the sex more creditable and more sincere.

Bright Stella here to view the conscious shade
Where wit in time of old, with passion play'd;
When last beneath this consecrated grove,
Cadenus * taught Vanessa how to love,
And sweet Vanessa, to reward his flame,
Immortalised this arbour with her name.
But, heavenly messenger, vouchsafe to say,
Why bend on mortals your resistless sway?
Why condescend from your exalted sphere
To spread a formidable glory here?
Before the lightning of your eyes was seen,
The girls were pretty, and the fields were green;
The nymphs and swains, to higher bliss unknown,
Felt equal joys and raptures of their own.
But, now, alas! those nymphs are left forlorn;
Their beauty slighted, and their swains forsworn;
All bow before you in obeisance meet:
The soldier † lays his laurels at your feet;
For you the lawyer ‡ bends the stubborn knee,
Forgets his disputation and his fee;
You steal between the parson § and his dues;
Between the politician and his news;
Between the statesman and his public cares;
Between the pious prelate || and his prayers;
Anacreon ¶ too, lies bleeding, as I 'm told,—
Altho' they say Anacreon is grown old.
Then re-assume your station in the skies;
Assist the sun-beams with your brighter eyes.

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* See Dean Swift's poem, "Cadenus and Vanessa."

† General O'Hara, commander-in-chief.

‡ Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

§ Dean Marlay, afterwards Bishop of Waterford.

|| The Bishop of Ferns, the confidential friend of the Duke of Rutland, and his private secretary. So attached was the Duchess of Rutland to him, that she erected a monument to his memory in the cathedral of Ferns. The inscription of which was written by Sir H. Langrishe.

¶ Sir Hercules Langrishe, who wrote a poem to the duchess under the appellation of Anacreon to Stella.

Once more amidst the heavenly bodies roam,
And leave poor mortals satisfied at home;
So shall respecting swains resume their duty,
So shall the gods take pleasure in your beauty.

Another poem, and rather of a warmer character, was said to have been addressed to the duchess by the same individual.

When you tell me your heart is another's,
That our passions can never agree,
That a flame in your bosom now smothers,
Which never was kindled by me.
But you mean that your friendship's soft balm,
Unassisted by amorous sighs,
Should all my disquietudes calm,
And heal all the wounds of your eyes.

Now, alas! though you call me your friend,
Though that favour you'd freely impart,
Yet I feel that my wishes don't end;
I would still have some share in your heart.
So perhaps in your soul you may trace
Some fond intermediate degree
Between friendship and love—some soft space
If such, then, oh! give it to me.

Although the session of 1785 had closed by a speech that indicated the question of the propositions might be renewed, still the subject was not brought forward in the ensuing year, and nothing of consequence occurred, except the introduction of a bill by Mr. Forbes, to limit the amount of pensions, which he stated to be 96,000*l.* a-year, and exceeding the pension list of Great Britain. Mr. Grattan got the clerk to read the list from beginning to end: it irritated Government not a

little, and must have consumed no inconsiderable portion of time, for the names therein amounted to upwards of 240. There were not many deserving public favour. Hawke, Rodney, Burgh and Pery, were the few unexceptionable names that could be selected. Mr. Grattan, after its perusal, declared, that if "he should affirm that the pension list was not a grievance, he would affirm in the face of his country, an impudent, insolent, and a public falsehood."

This bill, however, on the second reading, was opposed by Government, and was defeated by a majority of 134 to 78. Mr. Grattan's speech on the subject was judicious and constitutional. Mr. Curran's was amusing:—he said—"This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain,—every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of a lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection:—it teacheth that sloth and vice may eat that bread, which virtue and honesty may starve for after they have earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support, which they are too proud to stoop and earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food. It

teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list, that are like the lilies of the field—they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory. In fine, it teacheth a lesson, which, indeed, they might have learned from Epictetus—that it is sometimes good not to be over virtuous: it shews, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the Crown increases also, and in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us."

About this period (1786), the southern parts of Ireland were much disturbed; outrages were committed by large bodies of men, who sought to regulate the prices of labour, to fix the dues that were to be paid to the Catholic Clergy, to reform the system of tithes, and to resist the tithe farmers, and tithe proctors, who were severe and exorbitant in their mode of collecting them for the Protestant Clergy. Some of these parties were denominated Whiteboys, from the circumstance of their appearing at night with shirts over their clothes. They frequently assembled in the neighbourhood of chapels, where they administered oaths to their followers. The Reverend Doctor O'Leary, with a view to restrain these excesses, and to recal these men to a sense of their duty, addressed to them several excellent letters of expostulation and advice, especially to those in the county of Cork. This, however, was insufficient

to redress the evil, and when Parliament met in 1787, the subject was alluded to in the speech from the throne. Several members, however, denied that the disturbances were as great as was represented. Mr. Conolly, Mr. Longfield, and Mr. Curran, attributed them to the successive want and distress that prevailed among the lower orders, and to other local causes ;—and Mr. Fitzgibbon gave the following melancholy account of their situation : —he stated, "that it was impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry of the province of Munster ;—that he knew the unhappy peasantry were *ground to powder* by relentless landlords, and that, so far from being able to pay the clergy, they had neither food nor raiment for themselves." Notwithstanding this statement, he refused to institute any inquiry into the causes of the evil, and on the 13th of February, he brought in a bill to prevent tumultuous risings ; he refused to confine its operations to the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary, where the disturbances existed ; he extended it to the entire of Ireland, and inserted in it one of the most outrageous propositions that ever was submitted to a civilized country. It was a clause of sacrilege, enjoining *that Catholic places of worship should be pulled down and prostrated, in case any unlawful oath should be administered in or adjoining them.* This measure showed at once a recklessness of character, and a

total want of religious feeling, or respect for that of others. The ignorance too, as a minister and legislator, was here conspicuous; for a measure of this description was certain not only to produce violence and mischief, but to be as impotent as it was irritating. After laying this bill, with such a horrid clause, upon the table, and finding objections made to it, he gravely declared, "that if any gentleman took the pains to read it over, they would find that it contained nothing that could give the smallest just ground for apprehension." This proceeding appears so incredible, that it would scarcely be believed by any dispassionate individual; the clause, therefore, as taken from the bill, is subjoined beneath.*

* Be it enacted, that if any such unlawful oath shall be tendered, administered, or taken in or at or adjoining to any popish chapel or place of popish worship, and proof thereof be made on the oath of one credible witness before any two justices of the peace of the county, or before any two magistrates of a city or town corporate in which such chapel or place of worship shall be situated, it shall and may be lawful for such justices of the peace or magistrates, and they are hereby required to issue a warrant under their hands and seals to cause such chapel or place of worship to be pulled down, levelled and prostrated, and to cause the materials to be sold or otherwise disposed of, to defray such expences as shall have been incurred by pulling down, levelling and prostrating the same, or in paying the persons employed therein; and that if within the space of three years from the time of pulling down any such chapel or place of worship as aforesaid any new chapel or place for popish worship shall be erected or built, or be begun to be erected or built within the parish in which such chapel or place of worship shall have been pulled down as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for any two justices of the peace or magistrates as aforesaid, from time to time, and they are hereby required from time to time within the said term of three

Mr. Wolfe (afterwards Lord Kilwarden), who had stood by Mr. Fitzgibbon on the question of attachments, would not support him on this occasion. He displayed that disposition which, in the last moments of his life, influenced him;* justly thinking that the laws of his country were sufficient to punish state offenders. He exclaimed against such a measure, and said "he felt his indignation rise against it to such a degree, that he thought every man in the nation should raise his voice, and almost wield his sword to prevent its becoming law. It would kindle a flame in the kingdom which would be more difficult to extinguish than Ministers were aware of."

Mr. Grattan said, "that this bill, like the laws of Draco, had 'blood! blood!—felony! felony! felony!' in every period and in every sentence. I have heard of transgressors being dragged from the sanctuary, but I never heard of the sanctuary being demolished: it goes so far as to hold out the laws as a sanction to sacrilege. If the Roman Catholics are of a different religion, yet they have one common God, and one common Saviour, with

years, as often as any such new chapel or place for popish worship shall be erected or built or begun to be erected or built, to issue a like warrant for pulling down, levelling and prostrating such new chapel or place for popish worship, and to cause the materials thereof to be sold or otherwise disposed of, and the same or the produce thereof to be applied as aforesaid.

* When attacked in Dublin, in 1803, and mortally wounded, he exclaimed, "Let no man suffer for my death but after trial and by the laws of his country."

gentlemen themselves; and surely the God of the Protestant temple is the God of the Catholic temple. What, then, does the clause enact?—That the magistrate shall pull down the temple of his God, and if it be rebuilt, and as often as it is rebuilt, for three years, he shall again prostrate it, and so proceed in a repetition of his abominations, and thus stab the criminal through the sides of his God—a new idea, indeed! But this is not all: the magistrate is to sell by auction the altar of the Divinity to pay for the sacrilege that has been committed on his house."

The clause was omitted, and the Riot Bill passed. But the proceeding left on the minds of all men an opinion very injurious to Mr. Fitzgibbon.

The question which next attracted the attention of the House was the Navigation Act, the 12th Charles II. cap. 18, on which the greatness of England and her maritime power was supposed to be founded; by which no trade could be carried on with Asia, Africa, or America, but in ships belonging to England or Ireland, of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners were English. By this act Ireland enjoyed a right of trade equally with England; but by the 14th and 15th Charles II. the word *Ireland* was omitted, and she was deprived of the benefit of the trade. Such was the commercial jealousy of Great Britain, that she instantly took the alarm, and by a

variety of acts excluded Ireland from enjoying the benefit of the trade. By one law Ireland was prevented from sending goods to the plantations; by another law the plantations were prevented from sending goods to Ireland; and by a third law Ireland was prevented from sending plantation goods to England; and by a clause in the Act of Customs, England got herself completely into the Irish market; so that in 1783 the tonnage stood thus:—English and Irish tonnage, 360,000; Irish tonnage, 71,000. Thus the Act of Navigation, which was originally intended to operate in favour of Ireland, was turned into a restriction on all her commerce.

In 1779,* the Channel trade had not been included in the settlement. The trade between Great Britain and Ireland stood as before, that is, on terms of inequality. Ireland took the manufactures from England, and the plantation goods she exported from England; while England refused to take either from Ireland. Thus matters stood, when, on the 5th of March, Mr. Grattan enquired from the Attorney-general respecting the bill brought in for the improvement of Navigation, whether it merely went to the registry of ships, and stated that he would move an amendment, declaring "That the 12th of Chas. II., or 'the Navigation Act of England,' intended to impose

* See Appendix No. 5, Act allowing the trade between Ireland and the British colonies, &c.

the same restraints, and confer the same benefits on the Irish as on the English people; and the said Act should bind the Irish only as long as it conferred the same benefits and imposed the same restraints."

As this subject is somewhat connected with the propositions, on which such commercial jealousy was displayed towards Ireland, and such hostility evinced, we have given some extracts from Mr. Grattan's speech on the occasion, (March 20, 1787.)

"It was a condition that required arrangement, but was not a condition (considering the great and recent acquisitions of this country) that should have called forth the very great turbulence and impatience which attended the inauspicious discussion of the unhappy question of protecting duties, to which the above condition had given birth. Protecting duties! a question whether we should turn a vast number of articles of the English manufactures out of the Irish market: a question taken up so improperly, so furiously agitated, and so auspiciously deserted. The madness of the times frightened the English much, but frightened every rational man in Ireland more, and did at last damn the pretensions of those manufacturers who had just force enough to give birth to an arrangement, of which protecting duties not only did not form a part, but in which an express stipulation against them made a principal part. The equality of the re-export trade made another part. This was the system of reciprocity; but the manufacturers of England trembled at it; they had got your market already; they, therefore, were not to gain anything by the experiment, and they were, therefore, left free to indulge in the latitude of their ancient fears and airy

speculations. They contemplated the low price of labour and of provisions in Ireland; they mistook the symptoms of poverty for the seeds of wealth; in your raggedness they saw riches in disguise; and in destitution itself they discovered a powerful rival to the capital, credit, and commerce of Great Britain.

"Whilst your pretensions were thus opposed by some of the English manufacturers, jealous of your poverty, they were also combated by another party, jealous of your liberty—the remnant of Lord North's ministry, who had supported the Minister in the fury of the American measures, but had condemned his decline, and saw the moment when a great man loses his virtues, that is, when he loses his power,—that remnant, who had but one idea with respect to Great Britain, Ireland, and America — coercion! coercion! From that quarter, the fourth proposition, if I am well informed, and some of the other propositions— the result of a narrow mind, a sordid circumspection, and a jealousy of the dominating genius of an individual, and of the liberties of a nation, originated. Thus was Mr. Pitt's system of reciprocity clogged with a system of coercion; and thus fell the adjustment: and since that time, we have no question in the least connected with it, until a doubt has been entertained of the validity of the Act of Navigation.

"The Act of Navigation is an act of empire, not of commerce. Cromwell was no merchant; his mind was compass, power, and empire. The Navigation Act is a restriction on commerce in the benefit of shipping,—a restriction on the sale of things imported and exported, confining the sale and purchase to vessels and ports of a certain description. The compensation Great Britain receives is in the carrying trade, and a doubt has arisen whether the benefits she receives from that trade, compen-

sate for the restraint she imposes on the sale of the commodity; but as to Ireland, there can be no doubt at all. The Act of Navigation is clearly a restriction without the compensation.

"I know we must make some sacrifices in some instances to the general cause. I know taxes are not commercial benefits, any more than Acts of Navigation; but they are necessary, and therefore I do not hesitate to conform to the British Act; desiring only to warrant that conformity, that the conditions of the act may be effectually equal. As Irish conformity is necessary to the British Empire, so is Irish equality necessary to obtain that conformity; —that is the true principle that connects; it is the breath that lifts, and it is the spirit that moves, and the soul that actuates; without it, all is eccentricity; with it, the two nations gravitate to one common centre; and fulfil their stated revolutions in the imperial orbit, by rules regular as the laws of motion; like them, infallible; and like them, everlasting! Nor do you here demand an equality of which you are not a purchaser; you purchased the right to equal admission, or equal exclusion under this act, by a long conformity to its restrictions. You have given to Great Britain for that equality, your carrying-trade, and your market; 100,000*l.* in plantation goods; 360,000*l.* tonnage; nor do you, in fact, desire equal advantages. You do not desire the British market, but you wish to have the speculation of the British market, for the chance of your own. It is not another man's estate you desire, but a small channel through your neighbour's land, that you may water your own without fear of inundation. The English need not tremble: their estates in the plantations articled to render the produce to Great Britain, will not break these articles. Cork will not be the emporium of the empire. Old England will remain at the head of things. We only

aspire that the little bark of this island may attendant sail, pursue the triumph, and perchance partake some vagrant breath of all those trade winds that waft the British empire along the tide of commerce."

Mr. Fitzgibbon opposed Mr. Grattan's proposition, and attacked the English opposition for their conduct on the fourth proposition :—

"That they had with wonderful dexterity shifted their ground, turned advocates for Ireland, Irish patriots, and for the first time asserters of our Constitution; indeed, the trick was at first thought too gross and palpable even by themselves, but they persisted in it on a presumption, as they said, that nothing was too gross for Irish stupidity."

He could not deny the Navigation Act to be as beneficial to Ireland as to England; and though Mr. Grattan's amendment was lost by 52 to 127, he adopted the principle, and introduced a clause declaring that the Navigation Act was in force in Ireland; but it was done in a subdued tone, without an assertion of Irish rights, and careful not to give offence to any English authority.

This was the first occasion in which a breach between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fitzgibbon appeared—"*malè sarta amicitia, nequicquam coit.*" The latter, after his attack on the English opposition, accused Mr. Grattan of speaking about what he did not understand. Mr. Grattan calmly replied :—

"I had rather be the object of his severity than the retaliator of it. He has mis-stated what I said. Perhaps a very able advocate, which most undoubtedly he is, may

think mis-stating a very fair figure of argument. I did not say that the Act of Navigation was the law of Ireland. I gave no opinion: I said some great lawyers doubted, but the people obeyed. I did not say that we had no benefit from the direct plantation trade, but I did say, that as yet we had not any great benefit from it,—no great direct export or import. The right honourable member has spoken of the English opposition, much to their disadvantage; he will allow, however, they had one merit—that of making the right honourable member Attorney-general. He is, however, too high in situation, ability, and independence, to be the partisan of the party in Government, or any party; but if he has censured the English opposition, he has censured his own countrymen, at least as liberally. Sir, they were invited to discuss the subject by the minister; they gave such an opinion as was approved of by many able and very honest men. We should treat that opinion at least, with good manners; particularly the right honourable member should do so, because he has abilities and pretensions to enter the fair field of argument without any other assistance."

At the opening of the session, on the 18th of January, 1787, after the usual annual paragraph in the speech from the throne, respecting the Protestant charter schools, a new and benevolent addition was made, highly creditable to the Lord-lieutenant, and very novel to the Parliament of Ireland. He stated his hope that some liberal and extensive plan for the general improvement of education would be matured and speedily carried into execution. In pursuance of this sentiment, which Mr. Grattan warmly recommended, Mr.

Orde, on the 10th of April, brought forward his plan of education,—an object most desirable in a country treated as Ireland had been, where the laws had prevented the people from being educated, and where it had been rendered penal for the Roman Catholic to teach or instruct his fellow-creature. Ignorance was the natural consequence —ignorance enjoined by statute! To the credit however of the Roman Catholic clergy, it must be said that they benevolently interfered, and sought to convey to their flocks the blessings of instruction. Itinerant masters and hedge schools were privately encouraged: in the remote recesses of the woods, on some spot retired from public view, and at great personal risk, they gave by stealth to the people all the moral and religious instruction that lay in their power. The law of the 28th of Henry VIII. directing the minister of the Protestant parish to keep school and teach English, which by oath he was bound to do, and which the Bishop was to administer, had been wholly neglected. The conscience of the parson was supposed to be cleared if he gave forty shillings a-year to any neighbouring schoolmaster to perform the duties which he was sworn to execute. Mr. Orde proposed to take this sum of 2*l.* as the lowest contribution from livings under 150*l.* a-year; from thence to 200*l.* a-year, 3*l.*; and sixpence in the pound after; the same in cases of impropriate tithes. This sum was to support a school in each

parish, and any deficiency was to be raised by a vestry assessment on the rich proprietors. He proposed to establish four great schools, one in each province; to revise and put on a better footing the twenty-two diocesan schools; to form two great academies, preparatory to the college of the metropolis; and lastly, to establish another university,* not situated in Dublin, but in the north-west part of the kingdom. He proposed that navigation, mercantile knowledge, modern languages, mechanics, mathematics, geometry, husbandry, drawing, as well as writing, accounts, reading, and grammar, should be taught at these schools. He proposed that exhibitions should be annexed to the academies, and that intelligent persons, distinguished for learning, should be appointed visitors. He submitted to the House a number of resolutions, calling upon them to carry his plan into effect in the course of the next session.

Some individuals objected to the measure as not being favourable to the Protestant religion;

* By the Act of Settlement (Charles II.) the Crown possessed the power of erecting another college in Ireland. None was however established, nor was it till 1795 that a Roman Catholic college was endowed, nor until after 1830 that a Board of Education was formed in Dublin, and that national schools were spread over the country, in which Protestant and Catholic could be educated without attempts at conversion, and on terms of kindness and love. In forwarding this latter measure, Ireland is much indebted to the late able and talented under-secretary, J. Drummond, whose useful services in this and other public affairs should not be forgotten.

others complained that it was not sufficiently favourable to the Catholics, whose clergy were forced to travel into foreign countries to obtain instruction. Mr. Orde, however, stated that the benefit of education was equally imparted to all, without distinction of religion; but that those who were to be maintained at the public expense were those who were of the Protestant religion.

Resolutions founded on this plan passed the House; but it is much to be regretted nothing further was done in a measure so useful to the people, and so creditable to the Minister and the Government, and which, in some degree, would have effaced the stigma that lay on the barbarous legislation that disgraced the statute-book.

CHAPTER X.

History of tithes—Extraordinary demands by the Protestant clergy—Proceedings of parliament in reference thereto, from 1641 to 1735—Tithe of agistment—Mr. Fitzgibbon's description of the state of the Irish peasantry—Mr. Grattan's proposition respecting tithe—Opposed by Mr. Orde—Death of the Duke of Rutland—Marquis of Buckingham succeeds him as Lord-Lieutenant—Mr. Forbes' and Mr. Grattan's letters—Mr. Grattan renews the tithe question in February, 1788—His motion, and speech thereon, 14th February, 1788—Effect produced by that speech—His motion lost.

The subject which now occupied the attention of Parliament, had been a matter of complaint for several years. The origin of the grievance bore a very ancient date; it commenced at the period of the Reformation, the doctrines of which were not espoused in Ireland as they were in England. Force was the mode adopted, to propagate its precepts, and the abuse of power rendered odious even the name of Protestantism.

At the very onset of the Reformation, one most essential point had been overlooked,—namely, the medium through which the new religion should be conveyed. There existed in Ireland no common language; the liturgy was in English; the language of the people was Irish.* To remedy

* In the time of James the First, the Bible and Prayer-book were

this inconvenience, a clause was introduced in the act establishing the reformed creed, which allowed the service to be performed in Latin. But the Irish did not comprehend Latin much better than they did English. Thus a failure from the beginning was inevitable; and the neglect, the apathy and inefficiency of the clergy, who were sent from England, and who were an inferior class of men, rendered that failure complete; and confusion, hatred, strife, and sanguinary tumult were the result.

The religion of the people remained Catholic; that of the state became Protestant. The Reformation took no root in the land. The tithes were taken from the Catholic Clergy, and transferred to the Protestant. Thus injury was added to injustice;—the people were first robbed of their land; then of their liberties; then proscribed on account of their religion, and forced to pay the minister of an adverse creed. So that in fact, the English Government was the establishment of continual hostility. Tithes being an annual extortion, were most severely felt, and became a standing and a popular grievance, the cause of violent outbreaks and excesses,* disgraceful to a civilized state, and detrimental, in particular, to the cause of religion.

ordered to be translated into Irish, on which one of the bishops observed, "In Elizabeth's time we had Irish ministers and English Bibles, but now we have English ministers and Irish Bibles."

* See Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland.

The exorbitant demands made by the agents of the clergy, who were denominated tithe proctors, increased tenfold the original evil. They were generally a needy and low race of men, who had but little regard for the interest of their employer, or the wants of the people; and they performed their invidious task certainly, at considerable hazard, and without much feeling. They required a high per-centage; their charges were excessive, and the mode of collection insolent, haughty, and exasperating.

Many laws had been passed to facilitate the Protestant in collecting his tithes, but no law had yet passed to relieve the peasant, who paid the pastors of two religions. This subject had not been introduced in Parliament. Thunderstruck by British tyranny, overawed by British power, and dreading British violence, men were timid and silent.

At length Mr. Grattan brought the question forward.

It is worth while here to detail the history of tithes, as we find it transmitted to us in official documents. So far back as June 1640, the House of Commons presented a remonstrance to the Lord Deputy, "representing that divers complaints were made from several parts of the kingdom, of many grievous exactions, pressures, and other vexatious proceedings of the clergy, their officers and ministers against the laity, es-

pecially the poorer sort, to the great impoverishing and general detriment of the whole kingdom."

The House of Commons having taken this into serious consideration, it was carried by their unanimous vote, "that all of them were very great and enormous grievances; some were *exorbitant and barbarous*, and ought to be *quite abolished as repugnant to law and reason*, and the rest should be reformed and regulated." A schedule was annexed to this remonstrance, which is a matter of curiosity.*

No redress appears to have been granted, and at the end of the year another remonstrance was voted by the House of Commons to the Lord

* Charges made by the Protestant clergy:—

"A barrel of corn for every plough in some places; two quarts of wheat for every acre ploughed in others; one sheaf of all sort of corn for every horse in the plough; thirty-two quarts of oats, and one quart of wheat for every garron in the plough at Lent time; in Connaught, sixpence a-year for every couple by the name of *holy water mark*. Married couples, that *live long together*, are brought to the court to prove their marriages, and when they prove it, pay seven shillings for a dismiss. In Connaught, a dish of butter once a-year. From a poor man that has but one cow they take a "muttue" for a mortuary; from one better able *his best garment;* if a woman *her best garment*. A gallon of drink from every brewery by the name of "merry gallons." If a beggar die in a man's house, the man who relieves him is to pay three shillings and sixpence. If a dead body be carried through a parish, such duty is to be paid to the parish it passes through as if buried there. For christenings and burials, the parsons, vicars, and curates, take three shillings, and in some cases more."

These, with many more, the House voted should be abolished. Among the grievances to be reformed, were the following:—"By an Act of Parliament in Ireland, bishops should administer an oath to every minister

Deputy, containing sixteen charges, the tenth of which recited that exorbitant and barbarous fees and pretended customs were exacted by the clergy, against law. These grievances, however, appear not to have been redressed, and a committee of the House of Commons was appointed in the next year (20th July, 1641), to draw up an order concerning tithes and duties demanded by the clergy of the kingdom, and to present it to the House.

The next proceeding was an order of the House on a petition from the diocese of Connor, complaining—

"That many disorderly persons, taking occasion upon some proceedings in this House against certain barbarous customs used in some parts of this realm by several of the clergy there, do take upon them a boldness to refuse the payment of tithes and other duties heretofore received by their incumbents in their several parishes, the which were not meant by this House to be forbidden to be paid; and do declare their minds to be such that they will pay *no* tithes or duties until the Parliament shall settle what ought to be paid; the House taking the same into their serious consideration, hath thought fit to declare that by such misreports and evil practice the honour of this House is much scandalized, and that whatsoever person shall, after publi-

to keep a school within the parish, and teach the children the English tongue. This is not observed, and no school kept. By another Act, in Ireland, free schools should be kept in every diocese. This is not observed, to the great prejudice of the kingdom of Ireland."

These, together with many exactions in fees by the bishops in their courts, and also duties charged on burials in the parish churches, were all voted to be reduced.

cation of this order in the parish church wherein he dwells, detain any tithes, demands, or duties which heretofore they have engaged, and have not by any vote of this House been judged or declared a grievance, as mortuaries and all other things voted in this House for grievances, that such persons be taken for contemners of the commands of this House, and to be forthwith sent for by the Serjeant-at-Arms to answer the said contempt, whereof we desire all whom it may concern to take notice upon their perils; and this order is to stand in force until this House shall give further directions to the contrary; and that a copy of the exactions of the clergy, formerly voted in this House for grievances, shall be annexed to a copy of this order to be sent into the several parts of the country."

This was a most extraordinary resolution undoubtedly, and one the House would have found it difficult to enforce.

Matters appear to have remained thus for the space of twenty years. At the end of that time, in 1662, application was again made to the House of Commons on the subject of tithe payments, and a committee was appointed to report thereon; and in the ensuing year three members from each province of Ireland were appointed as a committee, and it was ordered that the settlement of the whole matter relative to tithe payments should be referred to them.

The Parliament having voted the Customs and Excise for ever, were no longer necessary for the Crown, and they were *thirty-four* times prorogued. They met at the end of the year 1665, and then

an Act concerning tithes, oblations, and mortuaries was brought in, and passed into a law in June, 1666. It recited as follows :—

"Whereas, divers and unreasonable forms of tythings and oblations are in practice in many parts of the kingdom, whereby the subject is much oppressed, and others as prejudicial to the church, whereby many suits and controversies do arise to the grievance of his Majesty's subjects; be it enacted, that the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor and the Council, with the consent of both Houses, should abolish and take away the aforementioned forms of tythings, and settle such a table of tithes, &c. &c. as with the consent of both Houses should be judged convenient and reasonable for the clergy and parishioners."

In the year 1695, the 7th year of William III., a complaint was addressed to the House from the inhabitants of Ulster, stating that the table of tithes for that province, differed from the rates paid in other parts of the kingdom: that the clergy of Ulster received ninepence for every milch-cow and calf, whereas three-halfpence only was due and payable ;—and stating that the table of tithes, was illegal and unreasonable.

Notwithstanding these various efforts to procure relief, the complaints against tithes seem still to have continued; and at length in the 8th of George II, 1735, a petition was presented to the House, complaining that the clergy had commenced suits for a new kind of tithe, under the name of *agistment*, or herbage of dry and barren

cattle; a claim never heard of or made until within these few years.

The committee of the House reported, that the demand was newly set up by the clergy (within a period of twelve years), and that notwithstanding the act of the 17th and 18th of Charles II., to regulate the tithing table, and to adjust any claims, no such demand was ever made. They stated that upwards of fifty suits were commenced in the Court of Exchequer, for the counties of King's, Queen's, Meath, and Westmeath. They further reported that a number of Protestant inhabitants in these counties had determined to withdraw to America, in case these new demands of the clergy were established. The House resolved that the petitioners had proved their case, and proceeded to adopt the four following resolutions:

"That the allotments, glebes and known tithes, with other ecclesiastical emoluments, ascertained before this new demand of tithe of agistment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy of this kingdom."

"That the demand of tithe agistment for dry and barren cattle, is new, grievous, and burthensome to the landlords and tenants of this kingdom, who could have no notice thereof previous to their purchases and leases, nor the least apprehensions that such unforeseen demands could have been claimed."

"That the commencing suits upon these new demands, must impair the Protestant interest, by driving many useful hands out of this kingdom; must disable those that re-

main to support his Majesty's establishment, and occasion popery and infidelity to gain ground, by the contest that must necessarily arise between the laity and clergy."

"That all legal ways and means ought to be made use of, to oppose all attempts that shall hereafter be framed to carry demands of tithe agistment into execution, until a proper remedy can be provided by the legislature."

It is to be observed that these complaints against the tithe system, did not proceed from Roman Catholics, but from members of the Established Church; and so inimical were they to the impositions laid upon them by the clergy, that in great numbers they determined to go to America. Hence the resolutions on the subject of agistment. One of them certainly partakes of bigotry and hostility to the Catholics, but it was not adopted till after a debate and a division of 50 to 110.

Thus were the clergy excluded from this species of tithe, only, however, by a resolution of the House of Commons; and it was not until the year 1800, that the Irish Parliament, in one of its last acts, confirmed this by statute.

Mr. Grattan at once saw that the property of the clergy was insecure, and that the dissatisfaction which had so long prevailed throughout the country, was certain to be increased, by being extended to the Catholics, who had now acquired land, property, and power. He heard Mr. Fitzgibbon (the Attorney-general) say that the people were ground to powder; he read in the journals

of the House of Commons, the continued complaints against the clergy; he saw neither security for the one, nor peace or tranquillity for the other; and accordingly, on the 13th of March, 1787, he moved the following resolution:—

"That if it shall appear at the commencement of the next session of Parliament, that public tranquillity has been restored in those parts of the kingdom that have been lately disturbed, and due obedience paid to the laws, this House will take into consideration the subject of tithes; and endeavour to form some plan for the honourable support of the clergy, and the ease of the people."

The following are some of the passages from his speech on the occasion:—

"Certainly the annual contract is below the dignity of a clergyman. The minds of the clergy are in general too honourable for such an employment; accordingly, advantage is taken by the illiberal: he is to make a bargain with the squire, the farmer, and the peasant, on a subject which they do, and he does not understand; the more his humanity and erudition, the less his income. It is a situation where the parson's property falls with his virtues and rises with his bad qualities. Just so, the parishioner: he loses by being ingenuous, and he saves by dishonesty. The pastor of the people is made a spy on the husbandman; he is reduced to become the annual teazing contractor and litigant with a flock among whom he is to extend religion by his personal popularity. An agent becomes necessary for him; it relieves him in this situation, and this agent or proctor involves him in new odium and new disputes; the squire not seldom defrauds him, and he is obliged to submit, in repose and protection, and to reprise on the cottar; so that it often happens that the

clergyman shall not receive the thirtieth, and the peasant shall pay more than the tenth: the natural result, this, of a system which makes the parson dependent on the rich for his repose, and on the poor for his subsistence. Lenity to the rich, and severity to the poor: his preaching must be peace, while his practice must be strife, and this not from any fault in him, but in the law. * * *

"I submit to this House the situation of the clergy as well as of the people, and call on you to take up at large the subject of the tithe. You have two grounds for such an investigation,—the distress of the clergy, and the distress of the people. * * *

"Against your interference three arguments are objected, two of which are fictitious, and one only is sincere. The sincere, but erroneous objection is, that we ought not to affect in any degree the rights of the church; to which I answer briefly, that if by the rights of the church, the customary tithes only are intended, we ought to interfere to give and secure the full profit of them; and if by the rights of the church are meant those dormant claims I alluded to, we ought to interfere to prevent their operation. Of the two arguments, that one on petition relies on the impossibility of making any commutation; but this argument rather fears the change than the difficulty. This argument is surely erroneous, in supposing that the whole wit of man in Parliament assembled cannot, with all its ingenuity, find a method of providing for nine hundred persons. We, who provide for so large a civil list, military list, pension list, revenue list, cannot provide for the church. What! is the discovery of the present income of the church an impenetrable mystery?

"I have heard, indeed, very plausible professions of regard to the church; but while they remain mere words, unaccompanied by deeds, I shall pay little regard to them. I

am determined to prove my affection to the church by my actions,—by securing her ministers in an honourable affluent independence, and by removing every cause of dispute that could endanger their persons or properties."

Mr. Orde's speech was remarkable. He opposed the motion, and added, "that the distress of the people in the south arose from other causes than tithes, namely, excessive rents, and insufficient wages; and nothing he had heard would induce him to give an opinion that the subject ought to be discussed; he would even say '*No*,' with respect to futurity; and if any petitions were offered during the present disturbances, they should not be listened to."

Such were the benevolent feelings of the Minister, and such has generally been the case with respect to Ireland! If the country was distressed and disturbed, the reply was, that nothing was to be done while it remained so; and if the country was quiet, nothing was necessary to be done: and the result of not doing anything at the proper time was, that much more was granted than had been asked; so that the people returned no thanks, and the country received no satisfaction.

The speech of Mr. Fitzgibbon, Attorney-general, is worthy of notice. He said—"The lower orders of the people in Munster, are in a state of depression and abject poverty, sloth, dirt, and misery; not to be equalled in any other part of the world. But this cannot be ascribed to the clergy—far from it;—it is owing in the first place

to their own indolence, and in the next, to a class of men called middlemen; a set of gentry, who, having no inheritance, no education, or other means of life, than by getting between the inheritor and the cultivator of the soil, grind the poor people to powder. Every man knows that tithes are a very critical subject to bring forward; if my right honourable friend will, however, bring them forward, I shall give them my best consideration; but, indeed, with little hope of success; and if, after trial, we find we cannot succeed, we may expect to have the people doubly riotous for their disappointment."

The House, however, was unwilling to negative Mr. Grattan's propositions, and accordingly proceeded to the order of the day. Thus ended the question of tithes for the year 1787.

On the 20th of March, the Attorney-general presented to the House, a bill for the better execution of the laws. It was a bill of considerable patronage;—it cancelled the entire magistracy of the kingdom, created 3,000 sub-constables, 520 chief constables, at an expense of upwards of 50,000*l.* a-year. It affected also the independence of the bar, by selecting thirty-two barristers, one to assist the justice of the sessions in each county, at a salary of 300*l.* a-year.

This bill was strongly opposed by the country gentlemen, particularly by Mr. Conolly.* On this occasion, Mr. Fitzgibbon made one of those dis-

* Debate of 5th April.

plays so ill suited to the dignity and decorum of a legislative assembly. He attacked the individuals who opposed the bill, particularly Mr. John O'Neill;* saying—"that when gentlemen so loudly declaimed against the bill, they should support their assertions with something like reason and argument. When those loud advocates for liberty called a constable—a soldier in disguise—they shewed they knew nothing of the Constitution, only talked nonsense. He defied them to come forward and argue the point. He set their whole stock of sagacity at defiance; if they would not accept the challenge, he expected for the future, they would be silent on a subject they now confessed they did not understand."

Mr. O'Neill replied:—

"He should not rise at the present time, if he did not deem himself personally called on. He asserted that the bill was calculated to create such a force as would be sufficient to overawe the spirits of the people; he now repeated it. The polite and learned speech which the right honourable gentleman has addressed to this side of the House, he was forced to take entirely to himself. He was free to confess his admiration of the ingenious and elaborate lecture, which the gentleman has been at the trouble of giving the House, relative to the appointment of constables, magistrates, sheriffs, &c. He acknowledged he had not heard a more edifying lecture since he left the University. The right honourable gentleman says he was disappointed by gentlemen being obliged to blink the question in silence.

* Right Hon. John O'Neill, member for the County Antrim.

He begged to be permitted to inform him, that if gentlemen on this side of the House were silent, it did not proceed from a want of capability to speak, or from a deficiency of information on the subject. But as the right honourable gentleman has thought necessary to remind me of an Act of Parliament in which I was concerned, I hope to be allowed the same liberty with him. I will remind him of several Acts of Parliament of his own framing, and then perhaps the agitating of those matters will not redound much to his advantage.

"I remember his bringing forward a bill for *securing* the liberty of the press—a bill which *deprived the subject of his birth-right—a trial by jury*, and vested in the magistrate the executive and judicial powers! making him at once the judge who was to preside—the jury to deliberate, and the executioner who was to punish. Perhaps *this* bill deserves reprobation *as much* as that which he has selected to arraign.

"I remember his pursuing a measure which was not so *very constitutional*, which met with the loud and universal condemnation of all ranks of men; of lawyers as respectable as the right honourable gentleman himself; *which also deprived the subject of his birth-right, trial by jury*—I mean his prosecution by *attachment*.

"I remember his bringing in a *Police-bill*, highly exceptionable, and the subject of universal censure.

"I remember his bringing in a measure, which would prove any man either *ignorant, or regardless of the Constitution*—which must have driven two-thirds of the people to despair, madness, and rebellion; I mean his bill to prevent tumultuous risings, as it at first stood, *enjoining the prostration of the houses of religious worship*.

"These are the acts of a Constitutional lawyer, and some of them the disgrace of your statute book.

"The right honourable gentleman has used very extraordinary, and in my opinion unparliamentary language, when he in his dictatorial tone talks of '*ignorance of the Constitution—and I hope I shall hear no more of it.*' I beg leave to tell that right honourable gentleman that he *shall* hear more of it; and I hope language of this sort will rouse country gentlemen to an exertion of their abilities, and to deliver their opinions upon every great occasion, in their own bold and plain manner, regardless of polished periods and regular elocution."

This very proper reprimand came with much weight from such a character as Mr. O'Neill, a high-spirited and independent member, and descended from the oldest and most respected of Irish families. It, however, failed to produce its desired effect on the mind of Mr. Fitzgibbon.

The bill, which gave such an increase of power and patronage to the Government, was passed, and laid the foundation for another measure of a similar nature, which was enacted a few years afterwards, and which very much impaired the independence of the Irish bar.

On the 24th of October, 1787, the Duke of Rutland died, at the early age of thirty-three, in consequence of a fever supposed to have been contracted by his convivial habits. He was succeeded by the Marquess of Buckingham, who had been in Ireland as Viceroy in 1783, on the dissolution of the Rockingham administration, and he now reassumed the reins of Government on the 16th of December, 1787.

The Marquess of Buckingham's administration was more remarkable than that of his predecessor, and was accompanied by circumstances that tended to produce the same result. The former was distinguished by the injudicious question of the Propositions, — the latter by the injurious question of the Regency.

The Marquess of Buckingham was married to a Roman Catholic, an Irish lady, much respected and beloved, daughter of Lord Nugent, Earl of Clare, of Carlanstown, near Castlepollard, in the county of Westmeath. This individual sat in the English Parliament for the borough of St. Mawes, in 1748. He was a man of considerable taste, fond of literature, possessed a good understanding and high integrity. His attachment to Ireland appears from the exertions he made in the English House, in favour of the trade and commerce of his country, in 1778. On his death in 1788,* his Irish estates, which were considerable, descended to his only child.

Though Mr. Grattan differed so much from the Marquess of Buckingham in politics, he was in habits of great intimacy with him and his lady; and when he became a member of the Imperial Parliament, was a regular visitor at their house in

* Lord Nugent was accused of being a Roman Catholic, and some one told him that he would die with the wafer in his mouth. He wittily replied, "*Depend on it, that is the very last thing that I'll do.*" It was said that he kept his word.

London, and passed many agreeable hours in their company.

As the Marchioness was of the religion of the great body of the people of Ireland, it was supposed that this circumstance would have added to the friendly reception they might have expected; and such might have been the case had her husband acted a different part in politics.

Mr. Grattan's mind was still fixed upon the subject of tithes. He sought, from all quarters, every information he could collect, as appears from a letter of Mr. Forbes and one to Mr. Day, whom he consulted on this subject.

MR. FORBES TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, Nov. 26th, 1787.

DEAR GRATTAN,

Inclosed I send you some information respecting the mode of providing for the parochial clergy in France and Scotland: that which relates to France, I received from an intelligent ecclesiastic at Rouen; that which regards Scotland, from the celebrated Dr. Price. If Price's paper is not sufficient, specify your *demands* on the subject, and I shall endeavour to comply with them.

We do not expect a debate of any importance, in either House, on the address. The Marquess of Buckingham leaves this kingdom with the consent of all parties, as there are few men of his rank less liked. Mr. Pitt, on whom he had strong claims, on account of the *back stairs business in* 1783,* is peculiarly happy at this event, as he

* See ante, page 180; when he conveyed to the peers the king's most unconstitutional message, to influence their votes on the question of Fox's East India Bill.

was apprehensive that the Marquess would have forced himself into the Cabinet, in the character of First Lord of the Admiralty. Fitzherbert* is a man much esteemed in private life, as well as by the *corps diplomatique;* but he is considered as ill qualified, either from constitution or habit, for the Minister of Ireland. He has the family disease, low spirits, and a complaint on his liver, for which he is now taking mercurial medicines. He is totally ignorant of the business of Parliament, and the internal concerns of these kingdoms.

Lord Buckingham's apparent popularity on his separation from Ireland, and the nerves and good-breeding of Fitzherbert, I presume, will render it inexpedient that we should make any move the first day of the session, unless there is something strong in the address, and *pledging.* Let me hear your sentiments on this, and direct to me under cover to Mr. Palin, No. 34, Southampton Street, Covent Garden. I beg to be particularly remembered to Mrs. Grattan and Broome. Yours very sincerely,

JOHN FORBES.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Tinnehinch, December, 1787.

MY DEAR DAY,

Perhaps you could spare time, the weather permitting, to pay us a visit,—maybe on Saturday or Sunday. Mrs. Grattan had, about five weeks ago, a return of her complaint,† but slighter, and not very alarming. She has been free this month, and is well. We should be all glad to see you. If the weather and time of year would not deter Mrs. Day, she need not be afraid of a damp house, and we should be happy to see her.

* Afterwards Lord St. Helens.

† A bilous and rheumatic affection to which she was much subject.

When you write to your brother, give my best respects to him. He got a heavy cold when we were at Killarney, on our account. I wrote a letter to him from Tarbert; but neither his nor the other letters I wrote from thence were put in the office; the waiter at the inn neglected them.

The country is pleasant even now, and the Dargle in beauty. Yours, H. GRATTAN.

On the 14th of February, 1788, Mr. Grattan brought forward the subject of tithes. He had taken much pains to make himself master of the question. He produced proctors' bills for a series of years; and returns of tithe averages made by officers appointed by the Court of Chancery, to try petitions under the Tithe Compensation Act. He produced upwards of sixty cases of tithes from vicars' courts for several years past, showing the amount demanded, and the increase, and had witnesses ready to prove the cases upon oath. He stated that tithe for potatoes existed only in the south; that in England and Ireland the law was different; that in England all newly reclaimed ground was free from payment of tithes for several years; that the law in England did not require forty-eight hours' notice to the parson to draw his tithe; and that if left too long on the ground, the former had a right to an action against the parson, but it was not so in Ireland. He therefore called on Parliament to assimilate the law of both countries in this respect. He stated that the plan he would submit for consideration, embraced three

principal points; *first*, to pay the clergy the full amount of what, on a fair average, they have received for several years prior to the disturbances complained of, which amount should be raised by applotment in the manner of other county charges: *second*, to institute a general modus in lieu of tithe: *third*, to make a commutation by a general survey of every county, a certain sum to be allowed for every acre under tillage, and the whole county at large to be the security of the clergyman.

Such were Mr. Grattan's ideas, and well would it have been for the clergy and the country, if they had been adopted; then both the property of the one and the peace of the other would have been preserved, and bitter enmity and bloodshed would have been avoided.

With a view to introduce his plan, Mr. Grattan moved:—

"That a committee be appointed to inquire whether any just cause of discontent exists among the people of the province of Munster, or of the counties of Kilkenny or Carlow, on account of tithe or the collection of tithes; and if any, to report the same, together with their opinion thereupon."

The description of the state of the Irish peasantry is so well given that the following speeches have been given at greater length than would otherwise have been warranted. The reader will be enabled by them to see the condition to which the people and the country were reduced by laws

so unjust and so oppressive; and yet such a system was allowed to continue for near fifty years, till the mischief and bloodshed occasioned by it forced the legislature to interfere, in 1837, when a stop was put to this disgrace to Christianity. Mr. Grattan said,—

"I believe there is no man that hears these charges, that will not pronounce some of them exorbitant, unconscionable, and totally different from those which the advocates for tithes have ventured publicly to acknowledge or defend. I believe no man who hears these ratages, that will not say that some of them preclude the idea of any equity in favour of the tiller of the soil, and that the person who makes such a demand means to exact the last penny of his claim, and if he talks of moderation is a hypocrite.

"As to potatoes, the clergyman ought not to proceed with reference to the produce, but the price of labour: in the parts of which I have been speaking the price of labour is not more than 5*d.* a-day the year round, that is, 6*l.* 4*s.* the year, supposing the labourer to work every day but Sunday, making an allowance for sickness, broken weather, and holidays, you should strike off more than a sixth; he has not in fact then more than 5*l.* a-year by his labour; his family averages about five persons, nearer six, of whom the wife may make something by spinning (in these parts of the country there are considerable manufactories.) Five pounds a-year, with the wife's small earnings, is the capital to support such a family, and pay rent and hearth money, and in some cases of illegal exaction '*smoke money*'* to the parson. When a gentleman of the church of Ireland comes to a peasant so circumstanced, and demands 12*s.* or 16*s.* an acre for tithe of potatoes; he demands a

* A sum for the fire-place of each cabin.

child's provision; he exacts contribution from a pauper; he gleans from wretchedness; he leases from penury; he fattens on hunger, raggedness, and destitution. In vain shall he state to such a man the proctor's valuation, and inform him that an acre of potatoes well tilled and in good ground should produce so many barrels; that each barrel, at the market price, is worth so many shillings, which after allowing for digging, tithes at so much.

"The peasant may answer this reasoning by the Bible; he may set up, against the tithe proctor's valuation, the New Testament; the precepts of Christ against the Clergyman's arithmetic; the parson's spiritual professions against his temporal exactions; and in the argument the peasant would have the advantage of the parson. It is an odious contest between poverty and luxury—between the struggles of a pauper, and the luxury of a priest.

"Such a man making such a demand may have many good qualities; may be a good theologian; an excellent controversialist; deeply read in church history; very accurate in the value of church benefices; an excellent high priest—but no Christian pastor. He is not the idea of a Christian minister. The White Boy is the least of his foes—his great enemy is the precept of the gospel, and the example of the Apostles.

"The next case I shall observe on is a demand brought for two thousand three hundred and fifty barrels of potatoes, one hundred and twenty-eight barrels of bere, and one hundred and forty-eight barrels of oats. On what evidence? Who was the laborious, indefatigable man who went through the long process of measuring and weighing this ponderous and bulky produce? This is the case of Mrs. Strong; and the result of this charge is a decree for 33*l.* 14*s.* and 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* cost; there is no necessity for knowledge of fact to support such a demand; the evidence does it by his power of guessing, which, it seems, before such

a tribunal is satisfactory. You think this measure by the barrel a criminal ingenuity; but they carry it much further; they swear to the stone. I have read to you a suit brought for six thousand and forty-eight stone of potatoes; but there is a case which sums up all the principles which I have stated and objected to: it is the case of Ryan against Greene. In this four acres and a quarter of potatoes are alleged to have contained four thousand two hundred and sixty-six stone, and are tithed at 5*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*, which is above one guinea an acre for potatoes. Two acres and a half of flax are alleged to contain one hundred and sixty stone, and are charged above 3*l.* 4*s.*—above a guinea an acre for flax; four acres and a quarter of oats, alleged to contain four hundred and thirty-two stone, are charged 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*—about 5*s.* the acre; ten acres of meadow, alleged to contain thirty tons, are charged at 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, that is, above 12*s.* the acre meadow; the decree went for the sum charged, 16*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*, and the costs 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* But there is a case of a most extraordinary appearance,—a case which rises on famine. I do not see that any decree was made upon it one acre of potatoes is alleged to contain sixty barrels of potatoes, and each barrel is valued at 9*s.* 9*d.*, that is 2*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* tithe for the acre of potatoes." * * *

"The farming of any revenue is a pernicious idea; it is the practice of absolute Kings, who, anxious about their riches, and careless about their people, get a fixed income from some desperate adventurer, and then let loose on the public this animal of prey, at once destitute of remorse, and armed with authority. In free countries such a practice is not permitted. You would not allow it to the King, and you ought not to allow it to the Church, it is an evil in politics, but a scandal in religion; and the more dangerous in the latter, because tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion is indefinite. The use of the tithe-farmer is to

get from the parishioner, what the parson would be ashamed to demand, and to enable the clergyman to absent himself from his duty. The powers of the tithe-farmer are summary laws and ecclesiastical courts; his livelihood is extortion; his rank in society is generally the lowest; and his occupation is to pounce on the poor in the name of the Lord. He is a species of wolf, left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence; he fleeces both, and begins with the parson.

"In one of the disturbed parishes, the parish wished to come to a good understanding with the clergyman, and to pay him in person, but the tithe-farmer obstructed such an accommodation, and by his mercenary intervention prevented concord, moderation, and composition. Parishes were not only subject to one tithe-farmer, but in some cases were cursed with a legion of them; a non-resident clergyman shall employ a tithe-farmer, who shall set the tithe over again to two blacksmiths, who go among the flock like two vultures. A tithe-farmer shall, on being questioned, give the following account of himself:—that he held the tithe from one who had them from an officer, who held them from a clergyman who did not reside in a parish, where there were resident, no dean, no rector, no vicar, no schoolmaster; where the whole business of Christianity on the Protestant side, was transacted by a curate at 50*l.* a-year; and as the parish has been disturbed by the tithe-farmer or proctor, so it had in some cases been quieted in getting rid of him. I have known a case where the parish made with their clergyman the following agreement: 'Sir, we pay your proctor 800*l.* a-year, and he gives you 600*l.* We will give you 600*l.*, and become your collectors and your security.' In another living, the parish paid the proctor 450*l.* a-year, and the proctor paid the parson 300*l.* The parishioners became the collectors

and the security, paid the clergyman 300*l.* a-year, took for their trouble 30*l.*, and eased the parish of 120*l.* The consequence was peace; and the more you investigate this subject, the more you will find that the disturbance of the people, and the exactions of the Church have been commensurate, and that the peace of the former has attended the moderation of the latter. Nor is it only the excess of exaction which makes the tithe-farmer a public misfortune. His mode of collection is another scourge: he puts his charges into one or more rates payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons; charging him sixpence for the service, and one shilling for the summons; he then puts the whole into a Kerry bond or instrument which bears interest; he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman's body and goods completely into his power. To such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ireland the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe-farmer; draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf,—for nothing; give him their labour, their cows, and their horses at certain times of the year—for nothing. These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation —tributes; tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord.

"The White Boy should be hanged; but I think the tithe-farmer should be restrained. I would inflict death on the felon, and impose moderation on the extortioner; and thus relieve the community from the offences of both.

"The true principle with respect to your peasantry is exoneration; and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make that burden as light as possible. I would exempt the peasant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in

my power; I would consider his poverty as sacred, and vindicate against an extortion, the hallowed circle of his little boundary.

"Tithes are made more respectable than, and superior to, any other kind of property. The high priest will not take a 'Parliamentary title,'—that is in other words, he thinks they have a divine right to tithe.

"Whence?—none from the Jews. The priesthood of the Jews had not the tenth; the Levites had the tenth, because they had no other inheritance; but Aaron and his sons had but a tenth of that tenth, that is, the priesthood of the Jews had but the hundredth part, the rest was for other uses,—for the rest of the Levites, and for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, and the temple.

"But supposing the Jewish priesthood had the tenth, which they certainly had not, the Christian priesthood does not claim under them. Christ was not a Levite, nor of the tribe of Levi, nor of the Jewish priesthood; but came to protest against that priesthood, their worship, their ordinances, their passover, and their circumcision. Will a Christian priesthood say it was meet to put down the Jewish, but meet likewise to seize on the spoil?—As if their riches were of divine right though their religion was not. As if Christian disinterestedness might take the land, and the tithe given in lieu of the land, and possessed of both; and divested of their charity, exclaim against the avarice of the Jews! The apostles had no tithe; they did not demand it; they, and he whose mission they preached, protested against the principle on which tithe is founded. 'Carry neither scrip, nor purse, nor shoes; into whatsoever house you go—say, Peace!'

"Here is concord, and contempt of riches, not tithe. 'Take no thought what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor for your bodies, what ye shall put on;' so said Christ

to his apostles. Does this look like a right, in his priesthood, to a tenth of the goods of the community? 'Beware of covetousness; seek not what ye shall eat, but seek the kingdom of God.'—'Give alms, provide yourselves with bags that wax not old, a treasure in Heaven which faileth not.' Does this look like a right in the Christian priesthood, to the tenth of the goods of the community, exempted from the poor's dividend?—'Distribute to the poor, and seek treasure in Heaven.'—'Take care that your hearts be not charged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life.'

"One should not think that our Saviour was laying the foundation of tithe, but cutting up the roots of the claim, and prophetically admonishing some of the modern priesthood. If these precepts are of divine right, tithes cannot be so,—the precept which orders a contempt of riches, the claim which demands a tenth of the fruits of the earth for the ministers of the gospel.

"The peasantry in apostolic times had been the object of charity, not exaction; those to whose cabin the tithe-farmer has gone for the tithe of turf, and to whose garden he has gone for tithe-potatoes, the apostles would have visited likewise; but they would have visited with contribution—not for exaction; the poor had shared with the apostles, though they contributed to the churchman.* * *

"This was the state of the church in its purity. In the fifth century decimation began, and Christianity declined. Then indeed the right of tithe was advanced, and advanced into a style that damned it. The preachers who advanced the doctrine placed all Christian virtue in the payment of tithe: they said that the Christian religion, as we say the Protestant religion, depended on it; they said that those who paid not their tithes would be found guilty before

God; and that, if they did not give the tenth, that God would reduce the country to a tenth. Blasphemous preachers!—gross ignorance of the nature of things!—impudent familiarity with the ways of God!—assumed knowledge of his judgments, and a false denunciation of his vengeance! And yet even these rapacious, blasphemous men did not acknowledge to demand tithes for themselves, but the poor!—alms!—the debt of charity—the poor's patrimony! * * *

"It was not the table of the priest, nor his domestics, nor his apparel, nor his influence, nor his ambition; but a Christian equipage of tender virtues—the widow, the orphan, and the poor. They did not demand the tithe as a corporation of proprietors, like an East India Company, or a South Sea Company, with great rights of property annexed, distinct from the community and from religion; but as trustees, humble trustees to God and the poor, pointed out, they presumed, by excess of holiness and contempt of riches. * * *

"Life, like establishments, declines. Disease is the lot of nature. We oppose its progress by strong remedies; we drink a fresh life at some medicinal fountain, or we find a specific in some salubrious herb. Will you call those restoratives, innovations on the physical economy? Why, then, in the political economy, those statutes which purge the public weal, and from time to time guard that infirm animal, man, against the evils to which civil society is exposed—the encroachments of the priest and the politician?

"It is, then, on a false surmise of our nature this objection—we live by a succession of amendment. Such is the history of man; such, above all, is the history of religion, where amendment was ever opposed, and the cant expressions,—the supporting church and state,—were ever advanced to continue the abuses of both. On these occasions,

prejudices, from the ragged battlement of superstition, ever screened innovation. When our Elizabeth established the Protestant religion, she was called an innovatress; when Luther began the Reformation, he was called an innovator; nay, when Herod and the high priest Caiaphas (and high priests of all religions are the same) heard that one had gone forth into the multitude, preaching, gathering the poor like a hen under her wing; saying to the rich 'Give unto the poor, and look for treasures in heaven, and take heed that your hearts be not overcharged with luxury, surfeit, and the cares of this life;'—I say, when Herod and the high priest saw the Author of the Christian religion thus giving comfort, and countenance, and hope to the poor, they were astonished; they felt in his rebuke of their own pomp, and pride, and gluttony, and beastliness, great innovation; they felt, in the sublimity of his morals, great innovation; they saw in the extent of his public care, great innovation; and, accordingly, they conspired against their Saviour as an innovator, and under the pretence of supporting what they called the church and state, they stigmatized the redemption of man, and they crucified the Son of God. * * *

"Of the two extremes I should dread riches, and above all, such indefinite riches as the tenth of the industry, capital, and land of three millions would heap in the kitchens of nine hundred clergymen,—an impossible proportion; but, if possible, an avocation of a very worldly kind, introducing gratifications of a very temporal nature, passions different from the precepts of the Gospel, ambition, pride, and vain-glory. Add to this acquisition of the tenth, the litigation which must attend it, and the double avocation of luxury and law. Conceive a war of citations, contempts, summonses, civil bills, proctors, attornies, and all the voluminous train of discord carried on at the suit of

the man of peace, by the plaintiff in the pulpit, against the defendants, his congregation. It is a strong argument against the tenth, that such claim is not only inconsistent with the nature of things, but absolutely incompatible with the exercise of the Christian religion. Had the Apostles advanced among the Jews pretensions to the tenth of the produce of Judea, they would not have converted a less perverse generation; but they were humble and inspired men; they went forth in humble guise, with naked foot, and brought to every man's door, in his own tongue, the true belief; their word prevailed against the potentates of the earth; and on the ruin of barbaric pride and pontific luxury, they placed the naked majesty of the Christian religion.

"This light was soon put down by its own ministers, and on its extinction a beastly and pompous priesthood ascended—political potentates, not Christian pastors; full of false zeal, full of worldly pride, and full of gluttony; empty of the true religion; to their flock oppressive; to their inferior clergy brutal; to their king abject; and to their God impudent and familiar. They stood on the altar as a stepping-stone to the throne, glozing in the ear of princes, whom they poisoned with crooked principles and heated advice; and were a faction against their king, when they were not his slaves—the dirt under his feet, or the poniard in his heart. Their power went down—it burst of its own plethory, when a poor Reformer, with the Gospel in his hand, and with the inspired spirit of poverty, restored the Christian religion. The same principle which introduced Christianity guided Reformation. What Luther did for us, philosophy has done, in some degree, for the Roman Catholics, and religion has undergone a silent reformation; and both divisions of Christianity, unless they have lost their understanding, must have lost their animosity, though

they have retained their distinctions. The priesthood of Europe is not now what it was once; their religion has increased as their power has diminished. In these countries particularly, for the most part, they are a mild order of men, with less dominion and more piety; therefore their character may, for the most part, be described in a few words — morality enlightened by letters, and exalted by religion. Such many of our parochial clergy, with some exceptions, however, particularly in the disturbed parts of the kingdom;—such some of the heads of the church;—such the very head of the church in Ireland. Least of all, should you be withheld by that idle intimation stuffed into the speech from the throne, suggesting that the church is in danger, and holding out, from that awful seat of authority, false lights to the nation, as if we had doated back to the nonsense of Sacheverel's days, and were to be ridden once more by fools and bigots. Parliament is not a bigot. You are no sectary — no polemic: it is your duty to unite all men, — to manifest brotherly love and confidence to all men. The parental sentiment is the true principle of government. Men are ever finally disposed to be governed by the instrument of their happiness. The mystery of government, would you learn it? Look in the Gospel, and make the source of your redemption the rule of authority, and, like the hen in the Scripture, expand your wings and cover all your people.

"Let bigotry and schism,—the zealot's fire,—the high priest's intolerance, through all their discordancy, tremble, while an enlightened Parliament, with arms of general protection, overarches the whole community, and roots the Protestant ascendancy in the sovereign mercy of its nature. Laws of coercion—perhaps necessary, certainly severe—you have put forth already; but your great engine of power you have hitherto kept back: that engine which

the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high priest, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the inquisition, with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of,—the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, comes forth and overlays mankind by services,—the engine of redress: this is Government, and this the only description of Government worth your ambition. Were I to raise you to a great act, I should not recur to the history of other nations: I would recite your own acts, and set you in emulation with yourselves. Do you remember that night, when you gave your country a free trade, and with your own hands opened all her harbours?—that night, when you gave her a free constitution, and broke the chains of a century; while England, eclipsed at your glory and your island, rose, as it were, from its bed, and got nearer the sun! In the arts that polish life, the inventions that accommodate, the manufactures that adorn it, you will for many years be inferior to some other parts of Europe; but to nurse a growing people,—to mature a struggling, though hardy community,—to mould, to multiply, to consolidate, to inspire, and to exalt a young nation,—be these your barbarous accomplishments!

"I speak this to you from a long knowledge of your character and the various resources of your soul; and I confide my motion to those principles, not only of justice, but of fire, which I have observed to exist in your composition, and occasionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the ministers of the crown in eclipsed degradation. Therefore, I have not come to you furnished merely with a cold mechanical plan; but have submitted to your consideration the living grievances, conceiving that anything in the shape of oppression, once made apparent—oppression, too, of a people you have set free—the evil will catch those

warm susceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legislation."

Mr. Grattan's motion was seconded by Lord Kingsbrough, and supported by Mr. Brownlow and Mr. Curran; — it was opposed by Major Hobart, Mr. Arthur Browne, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. Fitzgibbon (Attorney-general), and rejected by 121 to 49.

Mr. Grattan's speech on this occasion, was pronounced by the Attorney-general, to have been one of the most splendid displays of eloquence the House had ever heard. The reviews of the day, in noticing it, say—"Mr. Grattan took up three hours in delivering this speech, in which he displayed the most consummate eloquence that any assembly, whether modern or ancient, could perhaps boast of. He took a most comprehensive view of tithes from their first origin. The resolution he proposed will do him eternal honour; they originated in virtue, and were dictated by humanity. This speech, by its eloquence and oratory, persuaded his hearers, and flashed conviction on the House. When he came to reason on the subject like a statesman, a philosopher, and a Christian, the House was amazed at the blaze of eloquence with which he lighted up the subject; it was an irresistible flow of elocution, which carried along with it the passions, the judgment, and every feeling both of members and auditors."

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Grattan's residence at Tinnehinch—Death of his favourite steward—Mr. Grattan renews the subject of tithes, 14th April, 1788—Proposal for a settlement thereof—Goes to England—His letters to Mr. Broome and Mr. Day respecting the King's health, and his return to Parliament the ensuing election—King's illness—Regency—State of parties in Ireland—Conduct of Mr. Fitzgibbon and the Government Fatal consequences to Ireland—Meeting of the English Parliament, November, 1788—Regency question—Mr. Pitt's conduct—Mr. Fox's doctrine as to the Prince's right, originated by Lord Loughborough—Denied by Mr. Pitt—His letter to the Prince, and reply thereto—Resolutions carried against the Prince—Remarks thereon.

Mr. Grattan's leisure time was now chiefly passed in the country. The estate that had been purchased by the grant of the Irish Parliament, was situated in the Queen's county. His trustee and friend, Sir John Tydd, who resided in the neighbourhood, not far from Maryborough, had recommended the purchase. It extended from the River Barrow, the second river for its size in Ireland, towards the village of Stradbally, and had belonged to Lord Sydney, and afterwards to the Cosby family, their relations.

The place possessed few attractions in point of scenery. It was intersected by a canal, (Mr. Grattan giving the land to the Company without compensation). The country was flat and not

very fertile. The only pretty views were along the banks of the river, where Moore Abbey (the seat of Lord Drogheda), with its dark woods, formed the back ground. Rich meadows, extensive pastures, and the graceful windings of the smooth flowing waters were the characteristics of the place. An ancient oak wood that lay on the border of the estate, surrounded the dilapidated remains of Dunrally Fort, which, with Castle Rheban at the Kildare side of the river, had guarded the passage where, in former times, many a fierce struggle had arisen during the civil wars that desolated the kingdom.

This spot, though somewhat interesting, required a clear sky and a summer sun to render it agreeable; and though Mr. Grattan used to visit it in fine weather, and enjoyed the walks along the border of the river, he did not approve of it as a residence, and fixed his abode permanently at Tinnehinch, which was more picturesque, and where its short distance from Dublin rendered it more convenient for him to attend his public duties. He devoted the intervals of business to the improvement of the place; he converted the inn into a comfortable but unostentatious residence. The mountain stream which poured, but more often thundered, down the valley, from the waterfall, seemed to baffle all his labours, inundating the meadows, overlaying them with heaps of sand, and bidding defiance to all his efforts. But with

the aid of a favourite steward, and planting aquatic trees, and staking down the sods in the lawns and meadows, he formed an alluvial stratum, and succeeded in confining the river within its grassy banks—

> Quanto præstantius esset,
> Numen aquæ viridi si margine clauderet undas
> Herba.

These agricultural pursuits afforded much amusement to his friend, and then neighbour, Sir Hercules Langrishe, who exercised his witticism on the occasion, observing "There is my friend Grattan again contending with his overwhelming *Flood*."

About this period he lost his favourite steward; and in his memorandum-book were found the following remarks on this faithful domestic:—It is from such traits that the benignity of the human heart appears, and the kindness and real character of the man is sometimes best discovered.

"On the 25th of this month, June, I lost my good and faithful steward Mat Walshe. He had lived in our family since the year 1760, above 30 years. He had contracted a most extravagant attachment to us. He had behaved with the greatest integrity and activity, and had done whatever is reclaimed or planted with the greatest zeal and without any assistance; so that I cannot look at any object of my farm without some degree of melancholy recollection, nor can I look to any moments of my younger days, without a sense of the loss. According to his own directions he is to be buried in a churchyard near Carlow; otherwise I

should have wished to have him buried where I shall be. He had been in his youth very intemperate, which brought on a premature old age; he became subject to severe attacks, which came upon him in consequence of cold, in one of which he died: aged 52."

Mr. Grattan again renewed his exertions to effect a settlement of the tithe question; and on the 10th of April, in this year (1788), submitted to the House a number of resolutions on this important subject.

1. "Resolved that it would greatly encourage the improvement of barren lands in Ireland, if said lands for a certain time after being reclaimed, were exempted from the payment of tithes.

2. "That a domestic supply of flax is an object to which all his Majesty's subjects of Ireland should contribute.

3. "That this House has greatly contributed to said objects by various bounties; but that the linen manufacture has only flourished in those parts of the kingdom, where a total exemption from, or a small composition for tithe of flax has existed.

4. "That, in order to extend the linen manufacture, said exemption or composition should be made general.

5. "That potatoes are the principal subsistence of the poor in Ireland, and are in a great part of the kingdom most fortunately exempt from tithe.

6. "That it would much contribute to relieve the poor of the south of this kingdom, if the benefit of said exemption was extended to them; and if it shall be made to appear that the owners of tithe shall suffer thereby, this House will make them just compensation.

7. "That this House will be ready to relieve the owners of tithes from the necessity of drawing the same; and to give said owners a power of recovering the value of the same, in all cases by civil bill, or otherwise; provided said owners of tithe shall conform to certain ratages to be ascertained by Act of Parliament.

8. "That the better to secure the residence of the clergy, a moderate tax on non-residence would be expedient."

Some extracts of the speech he delivered on the occasion are deserving of notice.

"The Sovereign Pontiff of the Catholic faith, and the Catholic King of Spain, distribute one-third of a part of the revenues of their Church for the poor, and here are some of the enlightened doctors of our Church deprecating such a principle, and guarding their riches against the encroaching of Christian charity. I hope they will never again afford such an opportunity of comparing them with the Pope, or contrasting them with the apostles. I do not think their riches will be diminished, but if they were to be so, is not the question directly put to them—Which will they prefer?—their flock or their riches?—for which did Christ die—or the apostles suffer martyrdom—or Paul preach—or Luther protest? Was it for the tithe of flax—or the tithe of barren land—or the tithe of potatoes—or the tithe-proctor—or the tithe-farmer—or the tithe-pig? Your riches are secure; but if they were impaired by your acts of benevolence,— does our religion depend on your riches? On such a principle, your Saviour should have accepted the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory, and have capitulated with the devil for the propagation of the faith. Never was a great principle rendered prevalent by power or riches; low and artificial means are resorted to for fulfilling the little views of men; their love of power, their

avarice, or ambition; but to apply to the great design of God such wretched auxiliaries, is to forget his divinity, and to deny his omnipotence. What! does the word come more powerfully from a dignitary in purple and fine linen, than it came from the poor apostle, with nothing but the Spirit of the Lord on his life, and the glory of God standing on his right hand? What! my Lords, not cultivate barren land; not encourage the manufactures of your country; not relieve the poor of your flock, if the Church is to be at any expense thereby! Where shall we find this principle?—not in the Bible. I have adverted to the sacred writings, without criticism I allow, but not without devotion; there is not in any part of them such a sentiment; not in the purity of Christ, nor the poverty of the apostles, nor the prophecy of Isaiah, nor the patience of Job, nor the harp of David, nor the wisdom of Solomon! No, my Lords; on this subject your Bible is against you; the precepts and practice of the primitive Church are against you. The great words *increase and multiply*—the axiom of philosophy, that nature does nothing in vain—the productive principle that formed the system, and defends it against the ambition and encroachments of its own elements—the reproductive principle which continues the system, and which makes vegetation support life, and life administer back again to vegetation, taking from the grave its sterile quality, and making death itself propagate to life and succession,—the plenitude of things, and the majesty of nature, through all her organs—manifest against such a sentiment. This blind fatality of error, under pretence of defending the wealth of the priesthood, checks the growth of mankind, arrests his industry, and makes the sterility of the planet a part of its religion."

Mr. Grattan's efforts proved fruitless, and his resolutions were rejected.

In the autumn of 1788, Mr. Grattan was obliged to go to England, in consequence of the ill health of his lady; and he communicated to his friends Broome and Day the important events which now occurred. The proposed visit of his Majesty to Bath, mentioned in one of these letters, was occasioned by the illness that then began to discover itself, and which very soon broke out in a most afflicting malady; deprived the Sovereign of his reason, and left him incapable of directing the affairs of the state.

Mr. Grattan went to London, and from that period commenced an acquaintance with the Prince of Wales, which the latter often called "friendship," and which Mr. Grattan always kept up under every change and circumstance to the last moment of his life; not with any view of selfish interest, or any object of private ambition, but solely with a desire to gain measures for his country. He had many interviews with the Prince, Lord Loughborough, Mr. Fox, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Pelham. The two last were to be sent to Ireland, in case the Prince was appointed Regent.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. BROOME.

Bath, October 8th, 1788.

My Dear Broome,

I was on my way to Ireland, and had gotten within twenty miles of Chester; but on recollecting that it might be useful to try Bath, and that I might not have a better oppor-

tunity, and on a return of head-ache, nothing worse, we turned back for this place. We have been here a week. The waters do not disagree, but Mrs. Grattan was well before.

Like all other towns, this is disagreeable to me; a total change of life, no walks, no retirement. I have lost the autumn, and shall only be in the country to enjoy the *hibernos soles*. A few moments stolen from idleness and hid in a black closet, where candles are necessary in midday, are the only opportunities I have for thought or study.

They report that the Duke of Cumberland will come here, which is bad; and that the Prince of Wales is coming, which is worse; and that the King is coming, which is worst of all. They will throng, disturb, and flutter this very idle sauntering city. As to the King, I do not believe he will come; the others, it is said, will.

I have been in the country, about this town, which is beautiful; and the river, though pollution here, is, some miles above this, limpid.

The fog is, in the lower part of this town, very heavy and damp. We are this moment overhung with it. I long for clear water, and clear mountain-air, "*oh rus! quando te aspiciam?*"

Since I wrote to you from Matlock, I went through a very fine part of England, and a very extraordinary one. Manufactories carried to a great perfection indeed. Birmingham is a proof, among others, of the growth of England. Near it I saw a famous factory, belonging to Mr. Bolton; he himself showed it; a most useful philosophical man, who has set a whole region to work.

I hope, in about three weeks, to see you; nor do I expect, until that time, to have any enjoyment of the country; that is, any enjoyment at all. The weather is fine, and has been so for a long time, but that to me is nothing. I

wrote to Cuffe, to take care of himself, but have not heard of him since your letter. I hear the Latouches are composed.* I tremble, however, for the consequences of their insupportable loss. Yours ever,

H. G.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

Bath, 1st December, 1788.

My Dear Day,

I shall not see you so soon as I thought. I mean to go to London to-morrow, and shall stay a week, or perhaps longer—long enough to receive a letter from you. The news of Bath is the same as it was a week ago. The King not in present danger, but his understanding not better. The effect of this on both countries must be considerable; but whether for their good or not, we cannot yet decide. I do not think the country would be ruined, even though we should lose the Marquis of Buckingham. What is he doing? Is he jobbing? Has he given more reversions to his family, or made additional salaries for his friends? Is he laying the foundation of an opposition, with the King's commission in his pocket—a powerful, but treacherous instrument of opposition? Write me the news, whatever it is, and direct under cover to Mrs. Grattan, St. James's Coffee House. Don't forget the tithe intelligence, as I can't perhaps be in Ireland as soon as I intended. I wish it were sent to me to England. Speak to Herbert, to send me the intelligence he promised. Don't forget to speak to Chatterton.

There is one point in the question of tithes I wish to be master of. The pamphlet called "*Authenticus*" says, that the revenues of the clergy, in the diocese of Cork and

* This was the death of Lady Lanesborough (Miss Latouche), one of the most beautiful of women.

Clogher, have been much increased by the corn mills in the county of Cork, and the corn trade from the seaports of Kinsale, Cork, Youghall, and Dungarvan. I wish to know from what period these mills and this corn trade have been established. You see the point of the question. Ascertain the date of these things within thirty years; and we ascertain the growth of rateage to be within that time.

Mrs. Grattan is very well. If the papers are very voluminous, Sheridan will direct them. Yours sincerely,

H. GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

London, 39, *Jermyn St.*, *5th Dec.* 1788.

MY DEAR DAY,

I wrote to Bushe some time ago, relative to myself; but, having received no answer to two letters, I fear mine may have miscarried. The purport of the letters was this:—I wished to know how the county of Dublin was circumstanced as to candidates;—whether I had a chance of coming in for that county without a contest; for I will not be at any expense. I wished this enquiry to be made with all secrecy. Another county which occurred was the county of Wicklow. I should prefer it to that of Dublin. There seems a want of candidates for it. Westby probably is secure; but as to that Lord ——, I can't foresee that he will be returned. Lord Meath's son don't, as far as I can understand, look to the county. Lord Powerscourt's brothers are college boys, and I know of nobody else. The interests in Wicklow, I fancy, are—Lord Powerscourt, Lord Fitzwilliam, Cunningham, and Lord Meath. Find out for me whether these parties are engaged, and how they are engaged. First speak to Bushe, to know from him what he has done, or whether he has received my letters. This, too, must be managed with secrecy.

As to politics, the papers inform you better than I can. The King is now insane, with a possibility, or even a probability of recovery, to be collected, not from any symptoms discovered in his case, but from experience in cases supposed to be similar. They talk much of a change of Ministry, and I believe with reason. The House yesterday was very full, but did nothing. On Monday it will proceed to business. I'll write to you anything worth your attention. All well. Yours ever,

H. GRATTAN.

We come now to another very important and interesting period of Irish history. The country had scarcely got out of one difficulty—(that of the Propositions,) when she fell into another—the Regency. The Irish opposition espoused the cause of the Prince of Wales, and thus rendered Mr. Pitt their decided enemy; his principle on the question was good, and so was his manner of proposing it. He managed it with great address, and gained the King and the people.

In Ireland, the opposition wanted to carry several measures, and hoped that the country would be enabled to gain them by the course which they took. They wanted a Pension Bill, a Place Bill, a Responsibility Bill, a New Police Bill, and a bill to prevent revenue officers from voting at elections. These were not very great measures, but they were useful objects, and the opposition were right to contend for them; some of them had been opposed by the Government,

and although Mr. Grattan had in general, supported the Duke of Rutland's administration, and did not oppose the Marquess of Buckingham until he and his ministers had run into extremes, yet he found himself unable to carry any of these measures; so that the remark made by Mr. Flood was almost realized in the instance of his opponent, "that no good could be done for Ireland without taking office; for the influence of the Crown was so great, it was not possible to oppose it, and the only way to serve the country, was to serve her when in office."

There were some, but very few checks that still remained upon the Government, and kept them under control. Mr. Denis Daly, though in office, and in disposition aristocratic, (perhaps not too much so) was warmly attached to liberty; so were the Ponsonbys, though they sometimes used to *get out on furlough*, (as was jocosely said,) and their friends got places from Government. The Volunteers too, had not yet laid down their arms. Lord Charlemont still remained at their head; he continued to review them; and while that spirit lasted, it somewhat restrained the disposition to excess, that Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Beresford (who was at the head of the revenue) then displayed. But when these checks were removed, and the Government was left free to proceed unrestrained, the objects which the popular party had in view were found almost unattainable.

The question of a Regency now presenting itself, Mr. Grattan sought to turn it to account, for the benefit of the country. It was a fatal question, and certainly did great injury to Ireland. It was the first that tried the exercise of her free Parliament, shewed the possibility of a separation, and that the countries might have had two executives; thus exposing the only vulnerable point that lay between them. The danger, however, was more apparent than real, and much more was made of it than it merited; for there was no difference between the countries as to the person who was to be Regent, though there was a difference as to the principle on which that person was to be appointed.

In Ireland, Parliament could only proceed by address, not by bill; for the Irish Parliament could not call on the Chancellor of England to put the English great seal to a commission; and certainly those who had supported Irish independence, would not be the persons to insist on such a right. Hence the proceedings of the Irish Parliament were more strictly constitutional than those of the British; and were carried on with becoming national spirit, and a sentiment that was certainly Irish, and highly creditable.

If the question is considered in the abstract, one may conceive that a great benefit could be derived from another Parliament, operating as a check upon an ambitious minister in England,

and a corrupt House of Commons; and if England had chosen a private individual, and named Mr. Pitt, Regent, it is a question whether the Irish Parliament should not have interfered. In case of peace or war, it would have been a fortunate thing to have had another Parliament to interpose, as in the instance of the American Colonies, and have stopped the precipitation of Lord North; and curbed the passions of George III.* But take it altogether, it was a fatal question for Ireland;—she gained the Prince, but she lost the King and Mr. Pitt for ever.

Mr. Fitzgibbon urged his cause in a clever but contumelious manner, and irritated the opposite party extremely. They proceeded on the impulse of their feelings, (perhaps not the best mode of acting) and were hurried into a contest with the Lord-lieutenant. They censured him; he

* This "*hobby-horse*" of George the Third, as the American war was called by Lord Mansfield, cost England large sums while it lasted, and larger sums after it ended; for it appears from the report of the secretary of the American Treasury, lately published, that in 1838, Great Britain imported into the United States goods to the amount of 44,191,851 dollars, or about 9,000,000*l.*; and as the population of the States is about 16,000,000, the imports are at the rate of 11*s.* 3*d.* a-head. The imports of Great Britain into the British West Indies in 1836, were 3,786,543*l.*; and as the population is about 900,000 souls, that is, at the rate of more than 4*l.* a-head, or eight times as much as that into the United States from Great Britain, which if still belonging to the mother country, would, according to this calculation, have taken from her 64,000,000*l.* per annum. Such are the losses which the fancy or the frenzy of sovereigns and ministers sometimes cost their subjects.

grew incensed; and then he wreaked his vengeance on the country.

Those of the Opposition who had places, lost them. Government proceeded with great asperity against the House of Commons;—they divided situations, split them in parts in order to increase the number of dependents in the House, for the Lord-lieutenant. They brought thirty-two members, and publicly professed to have done so. In short, they did that for which they should have been impeached.

The Opposition had no majority any longer than the likelihood of the Prince being appointed Regent, lasted. When that hope vanished, their numbers diminished, and the Lord-lieutenant left the country, having corrupted the Parliament. The censure upon him was a measure that the dignity of the House demanded; but it was a dangerous step for the party, inasmuch as they were not then certain that the King might not recover, and they therefore incurred the vengeance of a desperate government.

The Lord-lieutenant did not wish to leave Ireland under the disgrace of the censure passed upon him. He accordingly waited till the ensuing year, and in the meantime applied himself to all the arts of corruption. It was generally stated, that one of the peerages was sold to Mr. Brown (afterwards Lord Kilmaine); another to Sir N. Lawless (Lord Cloncurry); a third to Lord Limerick.

They gave 3000*l.* a-piece for them. This was laid out in a stock-purse for the purchase of members in the lower house; and the circumstance was discovered by Mr. Brown quarrelling with Government, because they refused to return his son as one of the members.

When Mr. Pitt heard of their conduct, he said nothing in condemnation of it. He was not at any time a friend to Ireland, and was angry and hurt at the conduct of the Irish Parliament for taking part with the Prince against him. He therefore countenanced the proceedings of the Marquess of Buckingham; thus increasing the influence of the Crown at the expense of the rights of the people.

Then, and not till then, did Mr. Grattan oppose the Government. He found it impossible to support the system which the Marquess of Buckingham practised,—which Mr. Fitzgibbon openly avowed, —and which Mr. Pitt neither repudiated nor condemned. In fact, this was not Government, but corruption and abomination,—conduct which Mr. Pitt would not have dared to pursue in England, —conduct which shewed that his character was at once revengeful, full of ambition, and an inordinate love of power.

Much of the injury that arose at this time was the result of Mr. Fitzgibbon's conduct. A proposal was made in the Cabinet to postpone the meeting of the Irish Parliament until a later

period, at which it happened that the King was convalescent. Mr. Fitzgibbon opposed this, and with success; yet afterwards he wished Parliament to adjourn, and postpone the very question which he had precipitated. He did this certainly with a great show of zeal, but with a lack of sense, and quite at the expense of his party, whose character he would have served more if he had abused his country less, and whose interest he would have advanced much more if he had not brought them to a contest with the certainty of defeat, and with no other consolation but that of paying his zeal and lamenting his rashness. By his precipitation, he lost to the Government their question on the regency; he lost their question on the vote of censure; and he completely lost the Lord-lieutenant, who was obliged to resign.

These times have gone by, and it is easy to criticise; but it may be said, perhaps with correctness, that matters might have been managed better. The Irish had an opening, and they might have taken advantage of it; for the English Parliament had assembled before the Irish, and had resolved to address the Prince, requesting him to accept the office of Regent. The Irish Parliament might have alluded to that point, and urged it, praising his father for what he had done for Ireland, which, as he was insane, could not be construed as flattery, because he could not hear it. Then calling on him to accept the office

of Regent, they would have avoided a rupture with the British Parliament. But instead of this they made enemies of two desperate and powerful opponents,—the King and Mr. Pitt. They found afterwards the error of their proceeding, and how fatal it was to irritate so formidable an enemy. In the hurry of the hour, *and in the protestation of affection from the Prince*, they did not reflect how strongly his father had manifested his enmity towards the freedom of his American subjects, and how possible it was for the son not to like his Irish subjects much better.* They forgot, too, that there is no character so dangerous as that of a man who retires from his people, and plots against their liberty,—who practises the most rigid economy in everything except bribery, and asks nothing from his subjects except their Constitution. The Regency first, and the Union afterwards, proved how effectually George III. could unite and practise these arts of government.

The English Parliament met on the 20th of November, and adjourned to the 4th of December, when the physicians (Doctors Willis and Warren) were examined, and made their report. The parts which Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox took on this occasion

* Fatally confirmed in 1821 and 1822. See also Sir Robert Peel's Speech in 1839 on the change of ministers, where it appeared that, to the very last hour, George the Fourth resisted the concession of the Catholic question.

are well known. Mr. Fox, advancing, at first, at the suggestion, it was said, of Lord Loughborough,* rather too broad an opinion, that the Prince of Wales had as clear a right to assume the reins of Government as if his Majesty had undergone a natural demise. This doctrine Mr. Pitt strongly reprobated, and protested against with great violence; but he too went rather too far when he termed it "*treason to the Constitution.*" Long and violent debates then arose, which were carried on with great party-spirit, much heat, and some personality.

Mr. Pitt named a day to propose a resolution, declaring the Constitution and the rights of the people. Mr. Fox then drew in a little, and did not insist on the right. Mr. Pitt and his party, by their speeches and their papers, posted about Whitehall and the Admiralty, made the people believe that the Prince wanted to invade their rights and to become King. He thus excited a great ferment; so that on his resolution he had a majority of upwards of 60. He then proposed that the Prince should be Regent, under the con-

* Mr. Wedderburne sat in 1765 as member for the Scotch borough of Rothsay, &c. In 1771 he was appointed solicitor, and in 1778 attorney-general; in 1780 created Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and advanced to the peerage by the title of Lord Loughborough. In 1793 he became Lord Chancellor; in 1801 he was created Earl of Rosslyn, and in 1805 he died. He was almost the only man who in 1782 opposed the repeal of the 6th of George the First, and insisted on the legislative supremacy of Great Britain over Ireland. See farther, as to his character, in Brougham's sketches.

trol of the Queen, who was to be advised by *him* (Mr. Pitt). In other words, he made the Queen Regent, and himself King. Mr. Burke called him "*one of the Prince's competitors.*"

It was not until the 22nd of December that the resolutions were carried. The first declared the King's illness, and that the exercise of the Royal authority was interrupted;* the second, that it was the right and duty of the Lords and Commons to supply the defect; the third, that they should determine how the Royal assent could be given to a *Bill* for that purpose.

Mr. Pitt was then obliged to have resort to an artifice. He proposed that the two Houses should appoint a committee to order the Chancellor to affix the great seal to the bill. This, the two Houses had no right to do; for then they might do the same when the King was well, and so depose him. According to the British Constitution, this order can only be done by the King; his privy seal is the warrant to the great seal, and when the King cannot attend, and that bills are to be passed, he orders any of the Dukes, with an Archbishop, and the Chancellor, to affix the royal seal.

Lord Thurlow, who was Chancellor, voted against the Prince in the House of Lords, but afterwards he had an interview with him, for the purpose as was said, of preserving his office; and

* Carried against Lord North's amendment by 268 to 204.

it is probable, that if he had been ordered, he would have refused to put the great seal to the bill. Perhaps he could have been compelled to do it, and no doubt would have considered well beforehand, and have been very certain that the King was past recovery;—for if he had not taken great care of *that*, the King assuredly would have severely punished him for his contumacy.*

Mr. Pitt then submitted his intentions to the Prince. The reply to his letter was the production of Mr. Burke; and as a specimen of talent, feeling, and principle, it is worthy of being here introduced.†

* Mr. Burke, aware that Lord Thurlow was carrying on a negotiation with the Prince, in order that he might retain the seals, could not restrain his feelings on hearing him exclaim in the House of Lords, "When *I forget his Majesty's favours, may God forget me.*" He burst out into one of his paroxysms of eloquence. "The theatrical tears then shed were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for their expiring places, '*the iron tears which flowed down Pluto's cheek,*' rather resembled the dismal bubbling of the Styx, than the gentle murmuring stream of Aganippe—in fact, they were tears for his Majesty's bread."

† Mr. Pitt's letter was as follows:—

"To His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

"SIR,

"The proceedings in Parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the House of Commons the particular measures to be taken for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during the present interval, and your Royal Highness having some time since signified your pleasure, that any communication on this subject should be in writing, I take the liberty of respectfully entreating your Royal Highness's permission to

In consequence of the death of the Speaker, Mr. Cornwall, a few days' delay intervened. On the 5th of January, Mr. W. W. Grenville, (afterwards Lord Grenville) was elected in his place,

submit to your consideration the outlines of the plan which his Majesty's confidential servants humbly conceive (according to the best judgment which they are able to form) to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

"It is their humble opinion, that your Royal Highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, during his Majesty's illness, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his Majesty; with provisions, nevertheless, that the care of his Majesty's royal person and the management of his Majesty's household, and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants therein, should be in the Queen, under such regulations as may be thought necessary. That the power to be exercised by your Royal Highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the king (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases), to the granting any office in reversion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, any pension, or any office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour, nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm, to any person except his Majesty's issue, who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years. These are the principal points which have occurred to his Majesty's ministers.

"I beg leave to add, that their ideas are formed on the supposition that his Majesty's illness is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to fix beforehand, the precise period for which these provisions ought to last: but if unfortunately his Majesty's recovery should be protracted to a more distant period, than there is reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wisdom of Parliament, to reconsider these provisions, whenever the circumstances appear to call for it.

"If your Royal Highness should be pleased to require any further explanation on the subject, and should condescend to signify your orders, that I should have the honour of attending your Royal Highness for that purpose, or to intimate any other mode in which your Royal

and on the 16th of January, Mr. Pitt proposed his resolutions.

The first declared the opinion of the physicians

Highness may wish to receive such explanation, I shall respectfully wait your Royal Highness's commands.

"I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference and submission,

"Sir, your Royal Highness' most dutiful and devoted servant,

"Downing Street, "W. PITT."

"Tuesday Night, Dec. 30, 1788."

The Prince of Wales's Answer to Mr. Pitt's Letter.

"The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt, that the proceedings in parliament are now in a train which enable Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines of the plan which his Majesty's confidential servants conceive proper to be proposed in the present circumstances. Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is silent—nothing done by the two Houses of Parliament can be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when, previously to any discussion in parliament, the outlines of a scheme of government are sent for his consideration, in which, it is proposed that he shall be personally and particularly concerned, and by which the royal authority, and the public welfare may be deeply affected, the Prince would be unjustifiable were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments; his silence might be construed into a previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which, every motive of duty to his father and sovereign, as well as of regard for the public interest, obliges him to consider as injurious to both.

"In the state of deep distress in which the Prince and the whole royal family were involved by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the King, and at a moment when Government, deprived of its chief energy and support, seemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince that a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any person intended to represent the King's authority, much less in the hands of his eldest son, the heir apparent to his kingdoms, and the person most bound to the maintenance of his Majesty's just prerogatives and autho-

as to his Majesty's recovery; the second* restricting the Regent from the power of granting peerages; the third restraining him from making

rity, as well as most interested in the happiness, the prosperity, and the glory of his people.

"The Prince forbears to reason on the several parts of the sketch of the plan laid before him,—he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation, to preclude the probability of any argument of his, producing any alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it; but he trusts with confidence in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, when he whole of the subject, and the circumstances connected with it, shall come under their deliberation.

"He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt, and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that paper, a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity in every branch of the administration of affairs; a project for dividing the royal family from each other; for separating the court from the state, and thereby disjointing government from its natural and accustomed support; a scheme disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of Government, without the means of softening them to the people by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity.

"The Prince's feelings in contemplating this plan, are also rendered still more painful to him, by observing that it is not founded on any general principle, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and distrust wholly groundless, (he trusts) in that quarter whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to receive and merit.

"With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe. No light or information whatever is offered to him by his Majesty's ministers on this point; they have informed him what the powers are which they mean to refuse to him, not why they are to be withheld. The Prince, however, holding, as he does, that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of the constitution, that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there as in trust for the benefit of the people, and that

* Carried by 216 to 159.

any grant, pension, place or annuity; the fourth from exercising any power over the King's personal property; the fifth * vesting the care of the

they are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the constitution, which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject, must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction and suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power, or its representative; or which can justify the Prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.

"The Prince has only to add, that if security for his Majesty's repossessing his rightful government whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or even conducive to that end, to be the first to approve and urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration in any settlement in which he would consent to share. If attention to what is presumed might be his Majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction, that no event could be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge of the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority, and diminished energy; a state hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent, to the security of the monarchy and the rights of his family.

"Upon that part of the plan, which regards the King's real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper to suggest to the Prince, the restraint he proposed against the Prince's granting away the King's real or personal property. The Prince does not conceive that during the King's life, he is by law entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure that he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess any such power; but it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual

* Carried by 229 to 165.

King's person in the Queen, giving her the nomination and appointment of his household, and other matters relating to the royal person.

This resolution was not carried till the 19th of January, and thus by the management of the minister, two months were suffered to elapse without supplying the vacancy in the royal authority.

On the 6th of February, the bill was introduced, and after great opposition, passed on the 12th. In the meantime the King's health improved. The House of Lords adjourned from time to time, and on the 10th of March, Parliament was opened by commission, and thus the Regency ended.

It would have been better, both for the country and the Constitution, to have made the Prince, Regent at once; though it might have appeared singular to appoint a person to take care of the

interest of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them in others.

"The Prince has discharged an indispensable duty in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration. His conviction of the evils which may arise to the King's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs, in the Prince's mind, every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity, (which of all the King's subjects, he deplores the most), in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the King, and with advantage to the public."

King, whose interest it was that he should not recover. But to make Mr. Pitt, in fact, almost Regent, was a monstrous measure. He acted in this matter with great cunning; he delayed the proceedings as much as possible, and contrived to gain popularity very unjustly. Party spirit ran high; the Prince was imprudent; the people did not favour either him or the opposition; the latter was composed of men of impaired fortunes, and the former was dissipated and extravagant; the carelessness of Fox, and the licentiousness of the Prince, gave to Pitt a complete victory; he steered through every difficulty with the greatest art, and appeared to guard at one and the same moment, the rights of the House of Commons, and those of the royal person; he gained the people by professing to defend the Constitution against Fox; and he gained the King by defending him against his son.

Thus it turned out that Mr. Fox's declaration was most injurious to his party, and that he went too far when he trusted to the dictum of Lord Loughborough, who was a party man, and not a great lawyer. If he had merely said that, the incapacity of the King being ascertained, the Commons were the fit judges whether the Prince should be Regent, he would have had the House to support him. Pitt's doctrine went to establish a democracy; and there is no analogy in the Constitution to support that, but the reverse. The analogy was

directly against him, namely, that the body that is to be the judge of the incapacity of the King, should not have the disposal of the power; the same person should not be judge and jury. In the doctrine of Fox there was an analogy from the Constitution, that on the demise of the father the son succeeds. On the part of Pitt, it was a dangerous power to give to the two Houses of Parliament; for if the people are taught that the weakness of the King is a ground of incapacity, (an idea they may be impressed with) and the two Houses are made the judge of that incapacity, you show the people how they may get rid of the executive magistrate.

Take such a case as that of Henry VI., a very weak Prince. The two estates might be induced to declare him incapable, and a very able minister, who got the confidence of the House of Commons, might influence persons about the Prince to declare him in such a state, that the two Houses of Parliament might consider that it amounted to incapacitation. The doctrine of Mr. Pitt opened the door to such a danger.*

On this point, Mr. Fox showed more wisdom: considering the moral incapacity as a physical incapacity, he thought that, from analogy to the

* Wraxall's statement, in his Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 266, seems to confirm this, when he says the King told Lord Walsingham "that if a Regency had been established, he would not have come forward to overturn it."

Constitution, the son should succeed. Mr. Pitt's doctrine was founded in error, and his proceeding by *bill* was not merely at variance with the principles of the British Constitution, but was an *absurdity* in terms; insomuch as no Act of Parliament can be passed without a King, and there was in this case no King to pass one. The creation therefore of that body, was the creation of a fourth estate. But his doctrine flattered the people, as it seemed to dispense with royalty, and give them power by rendering it elective instead of hereditary. Hence on the King's recovery, the minister returned to power with greater influence and greater popularity than ever.

CHAPTER XII.

Meeting of the Irish parliament, February, 1789—Regency—Mr. Grattan's motion to proceed by address—Carried—Mr. Fitzgibbon attacks Mr. Grattan—The House address the Prince of Wales, and invest him with full powers—The Lord-lieutenant refuses to transmit it—Delegates appointed—Second attack of Mr. Fitzgibbon on Mr. Grattan—Assertion of the rights of the Irish parliament—Carried—Letters of Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Portland, and Mr. Burke—Prince of Wales' friendly sentiment towards Ireland—Short money bill—Mr. Fitzgibbon's threat to buy the House—Popular measures—The King recovers—The Prince's answer to the Irish Lords and Commons—Resolutions signed by the Duke of Leinster, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, &c.—Mr. Fitzgibbon attacks them—Meeting at the provost's—Liberal offer rejected by Mr. Fitzgibbon—All the friends of the Prince turned out of office—List of Peerages sold.

We now turn to the Irish part of the transaction. The Irish Parliament did not meet till February 1789, when the Lord-lieutenant communicated to the House the account of his Majesty's illness. In answer to this, an address was proposed, expressing the sense that the House entertained of his Excellency's good wishes for the welfare of Ireland. This brought on the question respecting the conduct of the administration, in granting a pension to Mr. Orde, and a reversion to Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grenville, both of which were severely censured. Mr. Grattan proposed an amendment to this address, which was adopted; and he also carried, by 128 to 74, an amendment

to Mr. Fitzherbert (the Secretary's) motion, namely—that the House be called over on the 11th instead of the 16th.

When the House met, and the papers respecting the King's health, and the proceedings of the British Parliament were laid before them, Mr. Fitzherbert stated the intention of Government, to propose the Prince of Wales with all necessary rights and prerogatives, and that this should be done *by bill*. Mr. Ponsonby opposed this as unconstitutional. Mr. Grattan proposed—

"That the personal exercise of the Royal authority, is, by his Majesty's indisposition, for the present, interrupted."

This being carried, Mr. Conolly moved—

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that an humble *address* be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, humbly to request His Royal Highness to take upon himself the Government of this realm, during the continuation of his Majesty's present indisposition, *and no longer;* and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name of his Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and Constitution of this kingdom, *all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives* to the Crown and Government thereof belonging."

The motion was seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby.

Mr. Fitzgibbon now came forward, and displayed the feelings by which he was swayed, and the violent passions by which he was governed. His overbearing manner would submit to no restraint; he let loose his temper. Factious in argument,

and furious in manner, he denied the right of Ireland to interfere in the nomination of a Regent. He asserted—

"That Ireland had nothing to do but to follow the proceedings of the English Parliament; that the only security for Irish liberty was the connexion with England; and that gentlemen who risked breaking this connexion, must make up their minds for the union; he would prefer a union to separation. He opposed the mode of proceeding by address, which he characterized as contrary to the common law, the statute law, and criminal in the extreme. That the maxim for Ireland, was *always to concur with the Parliament of Great Britain;* that the Government never could go on, *unless Ireland followed Great Britain implicitly* in all regulations of imperial policy; that *dependence on the Crown of England was the security of Irish freedom; and that the advocates for the independence of the Irish Crown were advocates for separation;* and that if men differed with the Parliament of England, men who had property to lose, would soon become sick of independence. *His maxim for England and Ireland was—One King, One Law, One Religion.*"

Such were the sentiments of the Attorney-general, which he delivered in a tempest of anger; and this man, who owed his station to the independence of Ireland, was the first to attack her rights, and to abuse and revile her friends. But he went further; he attacked the transaction of 1782, and Mr. Yelverton's bill, and read in support of his argument, the amendment of Mr. Flood at that period, which he now praised, but against which he had then voted. He addressed

Mr. Grattan no more as his "*right honourable friend,*" but as the "right honourable gentleman," the compliments which he had before paid him were forgotten; he declared it was necessary that the right honourable gentleman should not go *unreprehended,* and concluded his speech by saying—

"Sir, that right honourable gentleman and I were bred to the same profession; he quitted it, I adhered to it; he has done right, I have not done wrong; I shall say no more; he has taken his line, I have taken mine; I hope we have equally succeeded."

The purport of this speech, and the real meaning was this. Mr. Fitzgibbon was speaking, not for Ireland, but for himself;—*his bargain was at that very moment made, and he knew that promotion would be the result of his efforts.* The impression, however, which he made upon the House, was very different from what he expected; they were so amazed at the avowal of his opinions, and so displeased, particularly at the mention of the union, that all parties joined Mr. Grattan; and this important resolution was carried, even without a division.

Some of Mr. Grattan's remarks in reply to Mr. Fitzgibbon, and which, considering the opening it afforded, were singularly temperate, were as follows:—

"It is a great objection to the doctrine of this night, that it tends to destroy allegiance. The people of this country will be loyal to their King; but when you set up

baubles in his place,—when you set up phantoms that can give no protection, and are only the stamps of authority,—when, instead of the Royal family wearing the Irish crown, they are directed to contemplate as the object of affection an officer with the great seal in his hand, will the advocates for such doctrine answer for the affections of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland? * * *

"These Crown lawyers, that undermine the Irish throne, are not aware of the mischief of their offensive doctrine; they do not know what valuable passions they extinguish, what principle of attraction they destroy; they do not consider the effect of their sophistry on the human mind, and its cold pestilential consequences in the breast of every subject. He cannot detect perhaps, but he revolts at the errors of such doctrine, and turns from phantoms set up in the place of princes, and refuses his allegiance to idols, which the pedants of the profession advance in the place of the Sovereign of Ireland or his family. * * *

"Why make the connexion with England a wretched theme for sophistry?—why make it a constant opportunity for rebuke?—why make it a pretence for the humiliation of Ireland?—why introduce it where it is not in danger, and resort to it as a pretence for scolding the people of Ireland?—why interrupt a proud day like this with monstrous doctrine, that affects to ground itself on that connexion to which it is highly prejudicial, and tell the people of Ireland, 'Do not deliberate, do not indulge your temperate ardour to the royal family, do not venture to exercise a free will in favour of your Prince; wait for the determinations of another country, and echo them; wait for the great seal of that country, (*your King,*)—register,—recite!'

"This is incensing one country against another, and making the British name an organ for threats, not arguments,—denunciations, not affection; and in order to prove

the offensiveness of such doctrine, let me suppose that the British nation were to adopt it, and speak to Ireland in the language of the Irish member; how should we feel, how should we resent?—But coming from some of our body, it is less inflammatory; and yet is there a country gentleman in this House who is not by such language inflamed,—roused by indignation,—not borne down by conviction? On its own principles, a love for the connexion, distinct and superior to allegiance or patriotism, I condemn this argument: I think the connexion must be the first victim of it. * * *

"Tell your countrymen that your connexion with Great Britain is the source of her liberty; make them proud of standing by the side of England; tell them that all their passions and interests can be completely gratified, and respectively adhered to with the strictest conformity to every principle of connexion; and the boldest exercise of freedom, and the noblest indulgence of every loyal affection are perfectly conformable to the closest bonds with the British connexion. This is the way to promote the connexion; nations are governed not by interest only, but by passion also; and the passion of Ireland is freedom;—so much her passion is, that if any Parliament could bring this nation bound hand and foot to the feet of the throne, with a proffer of her liberties, a wise Monarch who loved power, would reject the power of her servitude, and set her free to command her absolutely."

The doctrine that Mr. Grattan laid down here was strictly constitutional,—proper as applied to the case of Ireland, and prudent as regarded his party and the people. In fact the two Houses of Parliament became a convention from necessity, and were bound by the constitutional power

alone; whereas Parliament was bound by the legislative power. Conventions can constitute and alter; they did both at the Revolution; abridging the power of the Crown, asserting the right of the people, and altering the succession. Parliament is bound by the laws of its own institution. But Convention is above all law: it is a supreme power arising from the necessity of the case,—bound, perhaps, by that, but by nothing else except the public good.

Mr. Fitzgibbon, however, and the lawyers found plenty of arguments wherewith to oppose Mr. Grattan. But the lawyers were interested on both sides, and in both countries, and seemed ready to decide on the power of Parliaments, Conventions, and Kings, just as it suited their purpose; however, the true power of the King, and the Houses of Parliament, is written in the statute-book and in the Constitution, which form a much better opinion than that of any lawyer.

It happened unfortunately, that in England the struggle was made a question of power. Mr. Sheridan said, in the debate on the Regency, in 1811, very imprudently and ungraciously as regarded his friends, that it was a mere party question; and certainly part of Mr. Pitt's conduct bore that complexion: his restrictions on the peerage, and the doctrine of his followers, who were the strenuous supporters of prerogative, looked very strange coming from those who had

abused that very power, and who wanted to take away the *use*, but not the *abuse;* for this very minister and his adherents afterwards in Ireland sold the peerage, and with the money corrupted the representatives of the people.

However justly or not the charge of party may have been applied by Mr. Sheridan to his friends in England, it could not with equal propriety be applied to Ireland. Mr. Grattan (and he was the chief leader at the time, for Mr. Flood took no part on the occasion), although certain, as Mr. Fitzgibbon said, of a majority to support him, had no personal views, no object of his own, or any love of power, (for on all occasions he declined office.) But in this instance he sincerely sought to carry measures for the country, and to oppose those which he thought injurious to the interests of Ireland. To effect this, he seized the opportunity and urged it with zeal, but not without moderation. The party did not look to office for themselves; they made terms for the country, and nothing else; they joined the expectant ministry upon the condition of measures for the country and a change of power. The expectant ministry were to have withdrawn their powers of government from the *Irish junto*, who afterwards *sold the country*, and to have granted certain measures; and on their part they stipulated to carry the vote for the Regency. The latter were the terms for the English party, the former for the Irish; and

history must acquit them of any view towards separation, with which they were charged.

It is at once a singular and an unfortunate circumstance, that all the virtuous efforts and constitutional struggles that were made for Ireland by her supporters, served only to render the British minister more hostile to her interests. Such were Mr. Ogilvie's suggestions, and the Duke of Portland's communications to Lord Shelburne in 1782,* about the blind project of a Union; such the proceedings in 1785, on the propositions, the commercial jealousy, and the petitions of the British merchants, against the commerce of Ireland; and such proved now to be the case on the question of the Regency, when the Irish parliament incurred the displeasure of Mr. Pitt, because they presumed to differ from him in the course which he had taken in England, and which he thought they were obliged implicitly to follow in Ireland.

In pursuance of the resolutions of the House, the address to the Prince of Wales having been agreed upon, was, with some amendments in the Lords of a complimentary nature to the King, adopted by the Commons on the 17th of February:—

"May it please your Royal Highness:

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave

* Vol. II. of these Memoirs, p. 289—293.

humbly to request that your Royal Highness will be pleased to take upon you the Government of this realm during the continuation of his Majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and Constitution of this Kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the Crown and Government thereof belonging."

On this occasion Mr. Fitzgibbon reiterated his attacks, and declared that the address was not only highly improper, *but treasonable in its nature;* and that such was the opinion of the Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and several other judges, and every lawyer whose approbation could give weight to an opinion.

Such was the extravagant language Mr. Fitzgibbon was in the habit of indulging in; and Mr. Ponsonby very properly observed—

"Whatever respect I may have for the right honourable gentleman's talents, I never relied much on his assertions, and as I never myself use assertions for arguments, I hope he will excuse me from believing his. He says he will be a bold man who will differ from the mode adopted in England. I hope, sir, we shall be bold, not too bold; bold in argument, modest in assertion."

The address being laid before the Lord-lieutenant, he replied—

"That, under the impressions which I feel of my official duty, and of the oaths which I have taken as Chief

Governor of Ireland, I am obliged to decline transmitting this address to Great Britain; for I cannot consider myself warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales, an address, purporting to invest his Royal Highness with power to take upon him the Government of this realm, before he shall be enabled by law so to do."

This answer excited much displeasure; and Mr. Grattan moved that the House be adjourned. The next day the answer was entered on the Journals, and Mr. Grattan stated that some resolutions were necessary to maintain the dignity and privileges of Parliament; that their conduct, in any controversy with the Chief Governor, should be respectful to him, though he had maligned their proceedings; it should be founded in law and the Constitution. He moved—

"That, in addressing his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to take upon himself the Government of this country, on the behalf, and in the name of his Majesty, during his Majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, the Lords and Commons of Ireland have exercised an undoubted right, and discharged an indispensable duty to which, in the present emergency, they alone are competent."*

* Mr. Gifford, in his Life of Pitt, vol. ii. p. 14, says: "Mr. Grattan, elated by the majority he had obtained, moved, that the two Houses of Parliament had discharged an indispensable duty in providing for the *third estate of the Irish constitution.*" He then animadverts very severely upon his conduct, and that of Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Curran, accusing them of "being unacquainted with the Bill of Rights, standing in need of constitutional information, and of rendering the ignorance of

Mr. Fitzgibbon, now grown bolder, reiterated his attack, calling the motion insanity, and a desperate speculation of Mr. Grattan. On this occasion he went further; he introduced the subject of Church and State, the Act of Settlement, the Rebellion of 1641, and spoke as it were the prologue to the scenes which were afterwards acted in the melancholy Irish tragedy, in which he performed so conspicuous a part.

The resolution was carried, and Mr. Grattan then proposed that Mr. Conolly, John O'Neil, William Brabazon Ponsonby, and James Stewart, should accompany the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont, (who were appointed by the House of Lords,) to present the address to the Prince of Wales.

This being agreed to, Mr. Grattan next proposed a resolution, asserting the privileges of the House of Commons, and censuring the conduct of the Lord-lieutenant:—

"That his Excellency the Lord-lieutenant's answer to both Houses of Parliament, requesting him to transmit their address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is ill-advised, contains an unwarrantable and unconstitutional

the Irish Parliament a matter of record," by proposing so absurd a resolution. After such a fulmination, the reader will be surprised to find that no such resolution as Mr. Gifford states, was proposed by Mr. Grattan or passed by the Irish House of Commons. This appears on reference to the debates and the Commons' Journals. But it suited the times for which, and in which Mr. Gifford wrote, 1808 and 1809, to raise a cry against the Irish. Mr. Perceval's "No Popery" cry was then predominant.

censure on the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and attempts to question the undoubted rights and privileges of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons of Ireland."

This resolution was carried by 115 to 83.

It was the intention of the Prince to turn out Mr. Pitt, and bring into power his own friends.* Lord Spencer and Mr. Pelham (afterwards Lord Chichester) were the individuals selected to be Viceroy and Secretary in Ireland.

MR. PELHAM TO MR. GRATTAN.

Stratton Street, Feb. 19, 1789.

DEAR SIR, 6 o'clock, P.M.

The House of Lords have adjourned the consideration of the Regency Bill until Tuesday next, upon a motion made by the Chancellor,† who stated that the reports of the King's health were so favourable as to warrant the adjournment. I can assure you, however, from the best authority, that the physicians have never seen the King alone. Willis refused Warren, who asked to see him to-day.

The Prince and the Duke of York were at Kew yesterday, and were refused admission to the King. The Chancellor was there on Tuesday; his opinion is differently represented by different parties, and the truth is not to be discovered, beyond what is known from the physicians.

* It was unfortunate he did not adhere to a similar determination in 1812, at the period of the second regency. He then kept in his father's former ministers, men who had covered him with every species of indignity. By that step he lost all reputation for principle, gratitude, or consistency.

† Lord Thurlow.

Willis is of an opinion that the King cannot bear an examination, if he or his son are not present.

We flatter ourselves that this delay, and an attempt to examine the physicians, which is expected, will lay open all the tricks and intrigues of Mr. Pitt's faction; and I trust that our friends in Ireland, who have done themselves so much honour by their conduct, will not be dispirited by these intrigues. I have not time to express to you how strongly the Prince is affected by the confidence and attachment of the Irish Parliament. I saw him for an instant at Carlton House, and he ordered me to write to you; but I have time only to say, in his own words, "TELL GRATTAN THAT I AM A MOST DETERMINED IRISHMAN!"*

I beg leave to trouble you with my best compliments to Mrs. Grattan; and am, with very sincere regard, ever yours, T. PELHAM.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, Saturday, 21*st Feb.* 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,

The opportunities your goodness to me but too frequently afforded you of observing the manner in which my time was occupied, will, I am sure, dispose you to forgive my delay in acknowledging the two very obliging and confidential letters† I have had the pleasure of receiving from you since your return to Ireland. I beg leave most sincerely to congratulate with you on the decisive effect of

* Unhappily for the Irish, this statement proved quite erroneous; he resisted to the last the concession of the Roman Catholic claims, and when he came to Ireland in 1821, he brought in his train Lord Castlereagh. The latter, however, seldom appeared in public, and respect for royalty alone prevented the people from giving vent to the expressions of their indignant and insulted feelings.

† These letters have been sought for, but could not be procured.

your distinguished exertions. Your own country is sensible and worthy of the part you have taken in defence and protection of her Constitution. The Prince thinks himself no less obliged to you; and whenever this deluded country becomes capable of distinguishing her true friends, she will contribute her quota of applause and gratitude; and if the voice of an individual can be heard on such an occasion, mine would gladly be raised to its highest pitch, to celebrate the event in which you were so eminently conspicuous.

Our friend, Mr. Pelham, acquainted you, and as many of our friends in Ireland as the time would admit, with the very unexpected adjournment of the Regency Bill on Thursday last; so that it would have been unnecessary for me to have taken any notice of it. But, having learnt by letters from Ireland this morning, that it was the intention of our friends to defer the consideration of all public business till after the departure or removal of the present Lord-lieutenant, I think it incumbent upon me to inform you, that it is not from mere conjecture that I suggest to you the probability of another adjournment, which will retard the appointment of the Prince to the Regency to the middle or latter end of the week after next, viz. to the 5th or 6th of March. Of little avail, except to the actual possessors of the salaries of office, this delay may be; for, considering the duration and circumstances of the King's insanity, his recovery cannot and ought not to advance so rapidly, and must always be very precarious. It does not occur to me that it can be resisted by us; and, therefore, as the Prince will not be sooner authorised to direct the use of the great seal, and, consequently, Lord Spencer must be unavoidably detained here, it appeared to me too material an article of intelligence to withhold from you; and I accordingly have taken the liberty of submitting it

to your attention, in the hope of its being the means of preventing any uneasiness, jealousy, or distrust in the minds of those who may be interested in the proceedings of Parliament.

I am, very sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient

PORTLAND.

It is no inconsiderable satisfaction to find that Mr. Grattan's conduct, in the management of the Regency question, should have received the praise of such a man as Edmund Burke, a person attached to limited monarchy, and careful to avoid all approach to principles of a revolutionary tendency. On the occasion of introducing to Mr. Grattan an American gentleman who came to Ireland, he alludes to the proceedings then going on, and seems gratified at the exertions of Mr. Grattan; his attempting, as he expresses it, to draw good out of evil, and to avail himself of the opportunity to carry the measures of which he had given notice. He enlarges also on this in a letter to Lord Charlemont (29th March, 1789), and adds—

"I am charmed with what I have heard of the Duke of Leinster. I am happy to find him add a character of firmness to the rest of his truly amiable and respectable qualities. Ponsonby then is, it seems, the proto-martyr. I never saw him until the time of your embassy; but I am not mistaken in the opinion I formed of him on our first conversation, as a manly, decided character, with a right conformation of mind, and a clear and vigorous understanding. The world will see what is got by leaving a provoked,

a powerful enemy; and how well faith is kept by those whose situation has been obtained by their infidelity. One would have thought that personal experience was not necessary for teaching that lesson. As to what you have said of the care to be taken of the martyrs to their duty, this is a thing of course in case an opportunity occurs. They would not be injured so much as their leaders would be eternally disgraced, if they were not made their first objects." * * *

"As to the politics of Ireland, I see nothing in them very pleasant. I do not wish to revive in your mind what your best philosophy is required to make tolerable. Enjoy your Marino and your amiable and excellent family; these are comfortable sanctuaries when more extensive views of society are gloomy, or unpleasant, or unsafe."

The following was his letter to Mr. Grattan:—

MR. BURKE TO MR. GRATTAN.

March 19*th*, 1789.

My Dear Sir,

I know how much it must please you to have an opportunity of being useful to young men, who wish to form themselves on good models, and to profit by good examples.* Mr. Shippen, of Pennsylvania, is one of these; he has seen some part of the continent of Europe, and he now wishes,

* Descended from the celebrated William Shippen, a strenuous Jacobite, and in parliament during the time of Sir Robert Walpole. The latter kept a list of those who were in communication with the Pretender. He had it one night in the House of Commons when Mr. Shippen was speaking very strongly against that party. Sir Robert Walpole got one of the members to show Mr. Shippen his name in the list of the Pretender's friends, and sarcastically observed, "*He would have been the honestest man in England if he had not taken the oath of allegiance.*" Pope, alluding to him, says:—

"I love to pour out all myself, as plain
As downright Shippen, or as old Montagne."

in order to have a good relish in his mouth, to see Ireland and Mr. Grattan. It is with pleasure that I make myself the factor in this commerce between the Old and the New world. I assure you Mr. Shippen is worthy the attention your goodness may dispose you to show him.

It is not in a small compass that I can express my admiration of the use you have made of drawing good out of evil.

Make mine, and Mrs. Burke's, and my son's most respectful compliments to Mrs. Grattan, whom we are not singular enough not to admire; not as much as she deserves, but as we are capable of.

I am, with the most sincere respect and affection, my dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

Pray present Mr. Shippen to my friend Mr. Forbes.

After the resolution, asserting the rights and privileges of the Parliament of Ireland, had passed the House, the question as to supplies came on; when Mr. Grattan proposed a short money bill, and that they should be voted to the 25th of May next, instead of to the 25th of March, 1790. This amendment was strongly supported by Mr. Brownlow, who contended that if the House passed the supplies for a year, the Marquess of Buckingham might do as Lord Townshend did,—prorogue Parliament, and protest against their proceedings. It was on this occasion Mr. Fitzgibbon made use of those remarkable words, which were heard with such astonishment and indignation,—that "he recollected Lord Townshend pro-

roguing the Parliament, and the House voting an address of thanks to him, which cost the nation half a million of money to procure the majority; he therefore would oppose the amendments, which might lead to an address, *which would cost half a million more.*"

This unblushing avowal of corruption on the part of Mr. Fitzgibbon was a plain intimation of what he intended to do. Mr. Grattan's proposition was however carried by 105 to 85. The supplies were accordingly voted for two months, and the army was in a similar manner provided for only for the period of two months. This was carried by 102 to 77.

Having thus secured the continuance of Parliament, Mr. Grattan proceeded to submit to the House, on the 3d of March, the propositions which he had in view. The first was to reform the police, which had proved to be a great source of patronage and corruption to the Government, and which had extended its influence, without preserving the public peace.

The next was a bill to limit the amount of pensions, and to disable any persons from sitting or voting in the House of Commons who had any pension during pleasure, or who held any office of place or profit, created after a certain time under the Crown.

The next was a bill to secure the freedom of election by disabling revenue officers from voting.

This was particularly necessary in Ireland, where, by a union of great family interests, boroughs had in fact become private property.

Founded on this, Mr. Grattan proposed a resolution that recommendations for the purpose of granting the great offices of this kingdom, or the reversion of great offices, to absentees, are improvident and prejudicial, especially now, as great annual charges have been incurred by making compensation to absentees for resigning their offices, that they might be granted to residents.

This principle had been long resisted by preceding Governments, and was one of the chief grounds of opposition on the part of Mr. Grattan, to the Marquess of Buckingham's administration. He had granted a pension of 1,700*l* a-year to Mr. Orde, an absentee; he had given the reversion of the office of Chief Remembrancer to his brother, Mr. Grenville, another absentee. He thus violated the principle that had been so long contended for, and in particular by Mr. Flood, and for which Ireland had paid so much, in the case of Gerard Hamilton, when they strove to bring home the offices held by individuals who did not reside in the kingdom.

This question tried the virtue and consistency of the House. His Majesty's health was now nearly restored. On the 2nd of March, the news of his recovery arrived in Dublin; and the bond which kept the party together was thereby greatly

weakened. Some men, who had joined the standard of opposition, now deserted it; and Mr. Grattan was on this question left in a minority of 9; the numbers on a motion that the House do adjourn being 115 to 106. The ensuing day, however, he got leave to bring in the Revenue Officers Bill; and the Pension Bill was, on the 9th of March, read a second time;—and so far the popular party made some useful progress.

During this crisis, Mr. Grattan acted with that promptness and decision, which marked his character, which he had adopted in 1782, and which he afterwards pursued in 1795. In the first he succeeded, and in the two last he failed; but this failure arose from circumstances over which he had no control, and which are to be ascribed to accident, and not to him. Some of the measures were subsequently carried; but as in the case of the Place Bill, they were mutilated and considerably impaired.

The termination of these proceedings respecting the Prince, are well known. His Majesty having recovered about the period when the delegates proceeded to London with the address, they received from his Royal Highness the following answer, which was communicated to the Houses of Parliament.

London, Feb. 27th, 1789.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The address from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and

Commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest and earliest thanks.

"If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the King my father, manifested in the address of the two Houses.

"What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his Majesty; of their uniform attachment to the House of Brunswick, and of their constant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connection between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and liberties of both.

"If, in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct in relation to the King my father, and to the inseparable interests of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible adequately to express my feelings on what relates to myself; I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe that I have an understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done; *a heart that must remember, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.**

"But the fortunate change which has taken place in the

* The Irish had a better memory than his Royal Highness; and when he came to Ireland in 1821, several songs were composed on the occasion. One of them, supposed to have been written by Mr. Moore, seems to allude to this period:—

"You told us this—you told us that,
Oh, wira strue—oh, wira strue!
How long you'd be a friend to Pat.
Oh, wira strue: wira strue!
And oh, you told us not to fret,
And said you'd make us happy yet,—
Remember that you don't forget.
Oh, wira, wira strue!"

circumstances which gave occasion to the address, agreed to by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, induces me for a few days to delay giving a final answer; trusting that the joyful event of his Majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his Royal authority, may render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection for the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart."

After the vote of censure passed on the Lord-lieutenant, it was not possible that he could any longer hold the reins of government, whether the Prince assumed the Regency or not. But prior to the departure of the delegates, every effort was made by the Marquess of Buckingham to thwart the opposition. Those who had places were to be deprived of them; those who had none were to be rewarded. Every threat was used; every lure was held out.

Such was the violence of Mr. Fitzgibbon and his party, who in these debates had discovered such a want of temper* and of principle, accompanied by a recklessness of manner and violent personal hostility, plainly indicating their determination to keep no terms with their opponents. Accordingly, they threatened to make every man the "*victim of his vote,*" and to proscribe at once the entire of the opposition. By this they drove their opponents into measures of self-defence, and

* At a dinner at the Castle of Dublin on the 2nd of March, 1789, the health of the King, and of "*Mr. Pitt the friend of Ireland,*" was given and drunk with three-times-three, and the Prince of Wales's excluded.

gave birth to what was then popularly termed, the "*Round Robin*"—a very decisive measure certainly, but one that proved insufficient to protect the interests either of the party or the people.

We, the undernamed, having, on the question of the Regency, dissented from the mode of proceeding recommended by the Marquess of Buckingham, and having acted agreeably to the rights and sense of Parliament, and to the duty and confidence which we owe to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family, do make the following engagement; that is to say:—

That if any one of the subscribing persons shall, in consequence of his conduct upon that question, or upon the measures necessary to be taken in consequence thereof, be deprived of his office or pension, or shall be made, as has been threatened, "*the victim of his vote*," we agree that we will not accept of such office or pension for ourselves or any other person, and that we will consider such deprivation, dismissal, or the rendering any individual "*the victim of his vote*" upon that occasion, as a reprobation of our constitutional conduct, and an attack upon public principle, and the independence of Parliament; and that any administration taking, or persevering in any such steps, is not entitled to our confidence, and shall not receive our support.

Leinster.
Charlemont.
Thomas Conolly.
John O'Neil.
James Stewart.
Wm. Brabazon Ponsonby.

February 22, 1789.

Signed, by authority of the Lords and Gentlemen, by me,

GEORGE PONSONBY.

Shannon.
Granard.
Ross.
Leitrim.
Louth.
Cavan.
Grandison.
Henry Fitzgerald.
Anthony Daly.
Henry Hatton.
Annesley Stewart.
Edward Newenham.
Travers Hartley.
Richard Griffith.
Drogheda.
Portarlington.
Moira.
T. D. Tuam, A.B.
Belvedere.
Landaff.
Sunderlin.
Farnham.
John P. Curran.
Edward Crofton.
Thomas Burgh.
H. Langrishe.
Robert Langrishe.
F. Hardy.
F. Blaquiere.
Arthur Browne.
James Cuffe.
G. P. Bushe.
Robert Day.
Thomas Bligh.
Charles Francis Sheridan.
Andrew Caldwell.
J. Doyle.
W. Ogilvy.
Godfrey Green.
John Forbes.
Simon Digby.
Den. Bow. Daly.
Loftus.
Clifden.
George Ogle.
Arthur Dawson.
Skeffington Smyth.
Henry Grattan.
Donoughmore.*

* This document, popularly called the "*Round Robin*," had no title to such appellation; and though Sir Jonah Barrington has printed it in that form, he was mistaken, and he also omits several names, among others a very important one,—that of John Forbes. In reference to this, Mr. Gifford, in his Life of Pitt, vol. iv. p. 211, makes a most extraordinary statement: he says, "This deed was drawn up on parchment, and the parties, at the time they signed, confirmed it by an oath." Nothing can be more unfounded. The document in question I have in my possession. It is not circular, nor signed so; it is in the handwriting of Mr. Day, and corrected by Mr. Grattan. No attestation was subjoined,

When this document became known, Mr. Fitzgibbon lost no time in attacking it; and some occasion presenting itself, he inveighed against the individuals who had signed it in the following terms:—

"I have heard reports, which I cannot, nor will believe, but which I will mention, to give opportunity for clearing gentlemen from such vile imputations. I have heard that the spirit of Whiteboyism has found its way into this city, and that injurious and dishonest combinations have taken place. I do not now speak of the combinations of the journeymen pinmakers, who have suffered in Newgate for their offences; I speak of other combinations, which, had they been entered into against a tithe-proctor, the combining parties, by laws of their own making, would be condemned *to be whipped at a cart's tail;* and therefore I say I cannot, nor will believe it possible, for any such combinations to exist. I cannot believe that any set of men could be so far the tools of faction as to *enter into a combination for which, by laws of their own making, a miserable Whiteboy would be whipped at a cart's tail.*"

Such was the style in which Mr. Fitzgibbon spoke of the individuals who had signed this declaration. He saw at once that it was likely to prove injurious to his objects and his interests;

or ever took place. I received the original from Mr. Grattan himself, who often spoke on the subject. So much for the accuracy of Mr. Gifford, who concludes a most unjust and virulent attack upon Provost Hutchinson, by saying that which may be justly retorted upon himself: "He cannot escape the scrutinizing eye of history, nor elude the honest judgment of posterity." Mr. Gifford's attack was unwarranted, and his allegation was unfounded, like many of a similar kind, which he and other writers make with regard to the people of Ireland.

and that, accompanied with a resolution of the House of Commons against the Marquess of Buckingham, it would be still more difficult for him to carry on the Government. He found that his violence had no effect upon the opposite party: it could not force them to swerve from the course they had adopted, or induce them to abandon any of the popular measures which they were anxious to carry: he therefore thought it better to try and effect a compromise. He resorted to the arts of diplomacy, and opened a negotiation with the leaders of the opposite party. An *amnesty*, as it was called, was offered to them under certain terms; but the great and leading connections of the party refused to coalesce with the Marquess of Buckingham. They were told that there should be a cessation of hostility; that they might remain in, or return to office, if they would give the Government support, and all previous proceedings should be buried in oblivion, and every person should be considered as if no such matter had taken place. The Attorney-general in particular urged Mr. George Ponsonby strongly to yield;—that on personal as well as public grounds it was most advisable for him, as it would secure him promotion in his profession. Much to his honour, Mr. Ponsonby refused.

The country gentlemen and the leading members of the popular party were willing to abate their opposition on the stipulations of economy,

and the carrying some of their measures; and a meeting on the subject was held at Mr. Hutchinson's, (the provost,) a memorandum of which appears to have been taken at the time by Mr. Forbes, and was found among Mr. Grattan's papers.

"*Grattan's Lodgings*, 6 *o'clock*, *Tuesday*, *March* 24, 1789.

"He and I have put down and compared what we recollect to have been the sense of the meeting at the Provost's respecting the expense likely to be incurred by Government in consequence of an amnesty offered by the Attorney-general:—viz.

"That the persons composing the meeting would oppose new places—creation of new boards—revival, or division of old ones, or great salaries to be annexed to small offices, or any other considerable expense to be incurred to make good engagements made in consequence of the late proceedings in Parliament."

As a written reply was sought for in order that it might be transmitted to the British Cabinet, Mr. Wm. Ponsonby wrote down the answer; viz.—"I intend to support the usual supplies, and his Majesty's Government in this country, but I will not enter into any communication with Lord Buckingham."

As soon as this answer was forwarded to Government, the party were immediately turned out of office!

Thus was the sincerity of Mr. Fitzgibbon's offer put to the test, and the stipulation for economy proposed by the country gentlemen was

rejected by the Government. This document is fortunately extant, and fully justifies the proceedings which Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, and their party took on the occasion. Had the Government meant fair towards the country, they would have accepted the offer of economy; but the Marquess of Buckingham and Mr. Fitzgibbon had gone such lengths in support of Mr. Pitt on the Regency question, — had contracted such engagements, and made such promises, that in justice to their party they could not recede without breach of faith. Hence arose the difficulty, or the indifference, which Mr. Pitt felt in checking the career of the Government; he gave it up wholly to Mr. Fitzgibbon, and thus carried into execution the threat of his Minister, to resort to the half million to corrupt the Parliament.

Alluding to this threat, Mr. Grattan, in his remarks on the conduct of the Government (in 1798), says,—

"It is in vain to equivocate; the words were uttered: the Minister may have forgotten, but the people remember them, and several of us were witnesses to them; nor was it merely the Minister's expression,—it was his sentiment —it was his measure. The threat was put into the fullest execution; the canvass of the Ministry was everywhere,—in the House of Commons, in the lobby, in the street, at the door of the parliamentary undertakers, rapped at and worn by the little caitiffs of Government, who offered amnesty to some, honours to others, and cor-

ruption to all; and where the word of the Viceroy was doubted, they offered their own. Accordingly we find a number of parliamentary provisions were created, and divers peerages sold with such effect, that the same Parliament who had voted the chief governor a criminal, did immediately after give that very Governor implicit support; and the subsequent Parliament did, under the same influence—on the catholic question—on the pension question—on the place question, vote and unvote, and turn and change, according to the orders of Government, with a versatility that made an indignant public cry shame upon them! This policy was an attack on the moral as well as on the constitutional system, and guaranteed political slavery by moral prostitution; proposing that the gentlemen of Parliament should be systematically robbers, in order that the people should be systematically slaves: it was a condition on which no freedom, no government, no religion, no connexion, no throne, could long rest."*

These were not casual words, nor was this an idle threat: it was put into execution and realized to the letter; the opposition, their friends and adherents, were all turned out of office; even Mr. Bushe, the Commissioner appointed by their own party, was dismissed with the rest.

The dismissals were:—

Earl of Shannon,—Vice Treasurer.
Duke of Leinster,—Master of the Rolls.
William Ponsonby,—Post Master General.
George Ponsonby,—Counsel to the Commissioners.
Lodge Morris,—Treasurer of Post Office and Clerk of Permits.

* See the declaration and petition to the king, from his Irish subjects, Grattan's Miscellaneous Works, p. 79.

Charles Francis Sheridan,—Secretary at War.
William Burton,—Paymaster of Foreign Regiments.
John Staples,—A Pension and reversion of Examinator of Customs.
John Townsend,—Barrack Master.
James Uniacke,—Comptroller of Stamps.
H. Hatton,—Comptroller of Youghall.
Colonel Pigott,—Governor of Cork.
Dennis Bowes Daly,—Ranger of the Curragh.
Edward King,—Comptroller of the Port of Dublin.
Sir Skeffington Smith,—A Pension.

The value of their offices amounted to near 20,000*l.* a-year.

The promotions were as follows :—

Fitzgibbon, appointed Lord Chancellor.*
Wolfe,—Attorney-General.
Toler,—Solicitor-General.
Boyd,—First Counsel to the Commissioners.
Edward Cooke,—Secretary at War.†
Corry,—Commissioner of Revenue.
Pakenham,—Surveyor of Ordnance.
S. Moore,—Treasurer to the Post Office.
Molyneux,—Comptroller of Stamp Duties.
Beresford,—Purse-bearer to the Chancellor.
D. Trant,—Advocate to the Admiralty.

C. H. Coote,
John Reilly,
Richard Neville,
} Commissioners of Imprest Accounts.

S. Hayes,
R. Holmes,
R. T. Herbert,
Edward Fitzgerald,
} Commissioners of Stamps.

* Created Earl of Clare in 1792. Lord Lifford, his predecessor, died in July 1789.

† Afterward secretary to Lord Castlereagh in 1799.

Lord Bellamont,
Lord Loftus, } Joint Post Masters General.

R. Johnston,—Third Sergeant at Law.

The following were the promotions which took place in the Peerage:—

The Earl of Antrim, created Marquis of Antrim.
The Earl of Tyrone, „ „ of Waterford.
The Earl of Hillsborough, „ of Downshire.
The Viscount Glerawley, Earl of Annesley.
The Viscount Enniskillen, „ of Enniskillen.
The Viscount Erne, „ of Erne.
The Viscount Carysfort, „ of Carysfort.
Lord Earlsfort, Viscount Clonmel.
Lord Loftus, „ Loftus.
Mr. Fitzgibbon, created Baron Fitzgibbon.
Mr. Stewart, „ „ Londonderry.
Sir John Brown, „ „ Kilmaine.*
Sir Nicholas Lawless, „ Cloncurry.*
Mr. L. Gardiner, „ „ Mountjoy.
William Cecil Pery, „ Glentworth.*
Mr. Alexander, „ „ Caledon.

But the new Government were not yet satisfied: they went further; they revived dormant employments; they increased the Revenue Board, and the Ordnance Board, and appointed two additional Commissioners; they divided the Boards of Stamps and Accounts; they increased their salaries; they gave two members of Parliament places at the Board of Stamps; they augmented the

* The three peerages that Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby offered to prove had been sold, and the money laid out for the purchase of members in the House of Commons.

pension list, by 13,000*l.* a-year, and imposed upon the nation an additional perpetuity of 2,800*l.**

Soon after, they divided the office of Weigh-master of Butter in Cork, into three parts; the duty of which was performed by deputies, at about 200*l.* each,—and the principals, who got the gross amount, had seats in Parliament. This drew from Mr. George Ponsonby the remark in one of his speeches, that there were 110 place-men in the House, and that of the gross revenue of the country, one-eighth was divided among members of Parliament.

In reference to these disgraceful acts, how truly did Mr. Grattan observe: "In a free country, the path of public treachery leads to the block; but in a nation governed like a province, to the helm!"

Such was the Government of Ireland; and who can wonder that discontent was the result, and that indignation filled every honest bosom when the noble institution of Parliament was thus turned to the vilest of purposes. A long period of mild Government, moderate in language as in manner, will be required to efface the painful recollection of the past. *Nations possess wonderful memories.* The courtier will lack the effrontery necessary to scoff at public virtue, and his tongue will cleave to the roof of his mouth, inadequate to the task even of palliating such political prostitution.

* See Appendix, No. 7.

CHAPTER XIII.

Character of Mr. Fitzgibbon—Question of tithes again brought forward by Mr. Grattan—Extracts of his speech—Proposes a composition for the Protestant clergy—Rejected—Publications against Mr. Grattan—Fate of the question—Treatment of the Protestant church by the Imperial parliament—Proceedings of Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Pitt—Departure of the Marquess of Buckingham—Speech of Mr. Curran—His character.

Having, in this and in the preceding volumes, given a sketch of the conduct of Mr. Fitzgibbon, and the part he took upon the essential questions connected with his country, it will not be amiss to insert here a summary of his character and his life before and after he obtained the seals of office. Unquestionably he was a clever man, but his understanding was not a sound one; it was quick, and his mind was acute, but it was extremely limited in its range. He had only two or three ideas—no more. He possessed real ability in some things, but little general talent. He was a vigorous plebeian lawyer, always ready, and in general speaking well. He saw a point quickly, and stated it clearly and without hesitation. He was a zealous partisan, and well suited for party purposes; had a good strong voice and a bold manner; and as far as he went, (which was not

very far,) he was an able man, and knew well what he was about. In debate he was good; not learned, but impassioned; he always felt what he spoke, which in popular speaking is half the battle. He was violent in personal attack; he never spared your character; he would your person. In council he was hot, but his decision was not the result of thinking, as in other men; he decided first and thought after; it was not the result of reasoning, as in other men, but of passion. In his decisions he was prejudiced, and biassed by his feelings, which in their nature were hot, angry, and vindictive. He was rapid in his statement of facts, and never sought for finery; he never fell in love with his own sentences,—that was his merit. He went right on to his object, and so far he was eloquent; but he was a narrow-minded man, devoid of a single great principle, and displaying none of that greatness which is to be found among the speeches of old times,—none of the noble sentiments that adorn those of Cicero or Demosthenes. His speeches in 1793 on the Catholics, in 1797 on the state of Ireland, and 1800 on the Union, will not be read for style, or language, or principle. They were composed of pert and saucy sentences, with some talent interspersed, but no principle; and the former so inferior, that it does not make up for the want of the latter. They are the production of a party termagant, struggling on

behalf of another country against the liberties of his own.

Mr. Fitzgibbon made a bad commencement, for a young man. In 1780 he spoke against the declaration of Irish rights proposed by Mr. Grattan. He attacked the Volunteers, as well as the Government for having allowed them to get to such a head. There were three points in his speech:—he denied the right of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland; he said the Volunteers were wrong to oppose that right, and the Government still more wrong for permitting them: he called them "*a torpid Ministry.*"* He spoke well on this occasion,—very ably and bitterly. He afforded a strong contrast to Hussey Burgh. The latter was an Irishman;—the former, neither English nor Irish; but he knew that England was the seat of influence, and he wished to continue the dependency. He did not perceive that the liberty of his country raised, instead of depressing him. The defeat of his principles was his elevation; their success was his downfall. He opposed the rights of Ireland, and it was owing to their establishment that he became Chancellor. When, at the Union, his political principles succeeded, he became nothing.

Fitzgibbon is a signal instance of the folly of being a dishonest man.

If compared to his friend and ally, Scott, (Lord

* The ministry of Lord Buckinghamshire, 1779-80.

Clonmel,) it might be said that Lord Clare would have made a better attack on an opponent, —not so comical, but more offensive; for he possessed the art of adding odium to what was odious already, and thus he united all parties against him. The difference between these two men was, that Lord Clare's talents would have advanced him at the bar,—Lord Clonmel's would not. Their characters so far agreed, that they both hated their country.

Fitzgibbon possibly would have been a good man, if he had not been a politician. Personally, he was not a disagreeable man. He possessed shrewdness and point in conversation,* and was not a bad flatterer. Still his society was not attractive: he offered a bad model,—was severe and sarcastic. It was impossible, in his company, not to learn some aberration from virtue. He spoiled the young men of the day; he vulgarized them, rendered them low in principle, bad in manners, impudent, and affected. He not only injured society, but did much disservice to the House of Commons. He headed a vile party—arrogant, shallow, and superficial, needy lawyers, of a few hundred pounds a-year—*trading adventurers*, who were ready to sell the House

* The only *jeu d'sprit* reported of him was the following:—

"When the Chief Baron (Yelverton) at the time of the King's illness went over to London, his companions were Curran, Egan, and R. Barret; on which Fitzgibbon remarked that he travelled like a mountebank, with a monkey, a bear, and a slight-of-hand man."

and the country. In former times, in those of Malone and Pery,—there was dignity, gravity, and decorum in that assembly; a noble character at that time pervaded it: but *this*, Fitzgibbon altered. He introduced pert, boyish ways,* that were readily imitated, and did much injury.

In this respect, however, Fitzgibbon did not stand alone; Beresford assisted him. Beresford was a good man in private; but he got on by taking the part of England in every question in which Ireland was concerned, and in consequence he was chosen Minister,—to maintain English interest, (as it was then called,) that is, Irish dependence. To do this at the expense of character, was a bad, but a sure game. Both these individuals were selected for it, and were always prepared to play their part—the part of England against Ireland.

Fitzgibbon showed the most abandoned profligacy and the most abject servility to the Court, and the utmost abhorrence to the liberties of the people. He was one of the few men who really hated his country. He displayed an unnatural disposition towards her, hating her liberties,

* Flood used to say of him: "In England or in any great country, his abilities would not be known, but here he has just talent fit for provincial mischief." And in his quaint, expressive manner, Curran described him as "cruel by nature, a hypocrite by nature, a tyrant by nature, and a slave by nature, for these go hand in hand, and despotism pays its rent upon her knees."

hating even her people. If this is going a little too far, it is but a very little indeed; for if he did not hate the liberties of his country, he did not love them; and he did not love the people; and the man who does not love a people, cannot love their liberties. In fact, Fitzgibbon derided liberty. He used to say, that, as far as regarded the constitution, he did not know what it meant,—that there was no other constitution but the law, and that the law was the constitution of the realm.* He did more mischief to Ireland than any other man; he drove the people before him; his measures tended to force them either to slavery or revolt.† He bribed the House; he bribed the bar; he dragooned the people. The system on which he acted was corruption, and he traded on the depreciation of his country. Other men make a traffic of particular questions, but he brought the fame and fortunes of his country to market. He was not only vicious, but criminal. Yet he was upheld; for crimes and vices have their popularity, though fortunately it is only among the wicked and the weak.

On the question of the commercial propositions

* Lord Lansdowne said the same in the Lords, and the words were taken up by Mr. Burke, who *moved resolutions in the House of Commons on that declaration.*

† What can be said of *free quarters;* flogging, torturing, half-hanging, pitch-caps, and triangles, all which he permitted, and some almost within hearing of his house.

in 1785, Fitzgibbon made an attack on the Irish, contrasting them with the English, and saying, "they were easily raised and easily put down." This drew from Mr. Curran a severe reply, which led to a duel, that terminated, as far as Mr. Fitzgibbon's honour was concerned, in a very singular manner.

The course Fitzgibbon took at the Regency in 1789 secured for him the seals and a peerage. He took part with Mr. Pitt, and was faithful to him during that very critical period, when it was thought the King's party were to go out of office, and when His Majesty's recovery was despaired of. He risked all, and certainly deserved to be rewarded. In consequence, he was appointed Chancellor.

In 1790 he took the part of the corporation of Dublin against the people. The law which provided for the election of the Lord Mayor partook of the character of the regulations that modelled the Irish corporations in the time of Charles II., and were arbitrary and exclusive. The law in question was a bad one; it had been brought in by Mr. Grattan's father (the Recorder). In this matter Lord Clare did the very thing he should have avoided; he became a city factioneer against the people, and took up the cause of the corporation when he should not have permitted the Government to have been defended by

such a body. But upon instructions coming from England, the Government yielded.

This subject was the first which made the breach between Lord Clare and Mr. Grattan. The Whig Club, as will presently appear, took part with the Commons. They had a meeting, at which Lord Charlemont presided, and spoke in their favour, and the Whig Club passed some resolutions on the subject. Lord Clare took notice of their proceedings in the House, and of the conduct of the Duke of Leinster, of Lord Charlemont, and Lord Moira, and attacked the Whig Club. Lord Charlemont, who was always so nervous that he could scarcely make a common motion in the house, did not reply; but Lord Moira did, and replied well. Mr. Grattan then took up their defence, and wrote a very severe answer. As he was until that time on good terms with Lord Clare, perhaps it was not kind of him, in a personal point of view, to do so; and Lord Clare was greatly offended at it—so much, that he never spoke to him afterwards, except on one occasion, when Lord Fitzwilliam came into power in 1795. But it must be said for Mr. Grattan, that Lord Clare had proceeded to extremes, and was adopting a course of measures that no man ought to support, and no people could endure; and Mr Grattan was therefore excusable, inasmuch as public duty should not give way to private friendship.

When Mr. Fitzgibbon made a concession, he always took care to accompany it with a graceless manner, that destroyed its intention and effect altogether: for instance, in the Convention Bill in 1793, he said the people should retain the right of petition, at the very moment that he took it away. He introduced a proviso that professed to preserve it, but rendered the act so complicated as to form a provision for litigation, rather than a security for the people. He introduced another bill to regulate the trade of the country,* and inserted a clause whereby he prevented Ireland from importing teas and other goods from the East, except under duties as high as those imposed in England. Thus he insulted the people at the very moment that he oppressed them. It cannot, however, be said that he thirsted for their blood;—he was not sanguinary in 1798;—*that* was left for Bishop Agar, Foster, and Toler.†

After having done the bad work for the British Minister at the Union, in extinguishing the constitution of his country, Lord Clare went to England; but instead of reward, he was received,

* 33 Geo. III. ch. 31.

† It was reported that he had gone with great parade to witness the execution of Dr. Esmonde, in June, 1798; but other accounts state that on his returning from the four courts he met the procession on its way, and that he was delayed in consequence of the crowd, and was not able to pass. This seems a more probable and more charitable version of the story.

as Milton describes the Devil in Pandemonium,—with a general hiss. He had no weight whatever. Lord Carnarvon, a poor creature, "*pinioned*" him in the House. He was disappointed; he found himself nothing; he was overlooked, mortified, and humiliated. He returned home, and even there he found himself supplanted. He was passed over, and in a most contemptuous manner, by a little secretary (Mr. Abbott), who actually nominated to the office of King's Counsel, without even consulting him. On one occasion, a person applied to get his sanction to the appointment to his office. Lord Clare, who was ill, expressed his surprise, asking, "Why he came to him? —that he was ignorant of his appointment;—that he had not heard anything of it;—that he had not even been consulted."*

This was a very great insult, and he felt it; and if he had been a man of spirit, he would have resigned. He at one time flattered himself with the hopes of getting the management of Ireland, as Mr. Dundas had of Scotland. But he had been deceived; he was misled by the attention which the King had paid him. He became an English peer, but was not in the confidence of his party; and Mr. Pitt even concealed from him his intention of supporting the Catholics after the Union. When Lord Clare heard it, he was astonished. Thus he found himself duped

* His nephew, Jeffreys, had instituted a suit in the Court of Chan-

and deceived by the very man who had employed him in all his desperate and deadly undertakings.

Fitzgibbon was a flatterer of England, and to that country he sold his satire. But it did not succeed there; for though the English liked the practice, they did not like to hear it praised; they did not like to hear the people abused, or to hear torture defended; it was uncongenial to the principle that constituted their greatness. Even the man who had employed him to do this vile work could not relish the abuse he poured forth upon his country; and when Mr. Pitt heard him in the House of Lords,* dealing out his sweeping censures upon Ireland, uttering very violent principles in a very violent and intemperate manner, he listened for some time; at length, turning to Mr. Wilberforce, who was standing next to him, he exclaimed, "*Good God! Did you ever hear in all your life so great a rascal as that?*"

cery respecting his estate, of which Lord Clare was trustee, and which he had bought. Lord Chancellor Manners (in 1817) set aside the sale and decreed the estate to Jeffreys. It was, however, admitted that it had been sold for its full value. Jeffreys made a violent speech, abusing his uncle. The Chancellor in vain tried to stop him. When Jeffreys came out of court he openly addressed some of the lawyers in the hall, and said that his uncle had never done a single act that procured him the esteem or thanks of his countrymen. "*I*," exclaimed he, "opposed him on the Union. I have a piece of plate voted to me for the part I then took, and *I afterwards saw Lord Clare die, repenting of his conduct on that very question.*"

* Stated by Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. North, who related the anecdote. Mr. Pitt said something nearly similar of Lord Thurlow, at the period of the Regency.—See *Wraxall's Memoirs.*

When, in speaking of Ireland, Fitzgibbon said to the English Parliament, "You know not of what inflammable materials that country is composed," he was guilty of the greatest crime a man could commit, and the worst sort of crime too. It was not the good-natured advice given in his native land by a man who was her friend; — it was not the rough familiarity of friendship, reproving, or even abusing his countrymen—No: it was the cold calumny of the man who hated them,—the little angry lawyer, drawing up his indictments against his own people. Fitzgibbon seemed to have always about him an aching sense of the infirmities of Ireland, and he constantly indulged in the bad habit of criticising her. He forgot that no good man should expose the faults of his country; when he hears them cited, he should be silent, if he will not or cannot defend her. But Fitzgibbon abused Ireland, instead of that nation by whom she was misgoverned. How much better is Swift!—how much better even Paine, who, in his reply to Raynal, says, "That country is to be admired, who risked all for her dignity,—how much more is that country to be admired who risked all for her liberty." Lord Clare made no such remark, but came forth in early life, an active rebel to the Constitution of his country, as he was in a later stage an active enemy to the liberties of her people,—the traducer of their name and their character.

The things that Lord Clare told the English were not as he stated them; he did not speak truth when he said he could not go from his house without arms, and that he called for his pistols when he called for his hat. The proof that it was false was his remaining in the country. If that had been true, he would have left it, for he had much more of the woman in his composition than the hero. When he avowed corruption, created a number of places, and said, it was necessary to buy the House, it cannot merely be said that he was a bad man—it cannot be said he was even human—no—he was *a monster*. He should have been stopped—he should have been removed; no man should have been allowed to say that; no government should have sanctioned it. Mr. Pitt should not have suffered such a man to continue minister for a single hour.

The declaration, that half a million had formerly been expended in buying the House of Commons, and that half a million was necessary to be expended again, was a high offence, and an impeachable one. The creation of fourteen places to buy the members, and the sale of peerages, were more than high misdemeanors—they were overt acts of treason against the state. Fitzgibbon swore the yeoman of Ireland to be faithful to the Constitution, and at that moment entered into a correspondence with the British Minister in order to take it away, and commenced a conspiracy

against the Constitution he had called God to witness that he would defend. These were offences grave and heinous; they were misdemeanors of the deepest dye; they were state crimes, deserving impeachment; for which their author and abettor merited punishment, and for which, in any other country but Ireland, he would have lost his head.

Lord Clare died in 1802, at his house in Dublin. His death was hastened by an accident which he met with from riding, but the real disease lay in his heart, where preyed remorse, chagrin, and disappointment. The people collected in crowds around his residence in Ely Place, and the laughter, the joy, and the jokes resembled rather a fair than a funeral. When the body was brought out there arose a general shout; groans and hisses were heard on all sides. He descended to the grave with the execration of his country; and that is a dreadful thing to say of any man. On that day *the people of Ireland delivered the epilogue of a bloody tragedy, and read from his tomb an awful lesson to those whose glory is their country's degradation.*

On the 8th of May, 1789, the subject of tithes was again brought forward. The Roman Catholics being now incorporated in the state, and permitted to purchase land, had acquired thereby considerable power, and it was probable that they would not greatly relish the idea of paying

two establishments. Prior to 1778 and 1782, not having landed property, they paid no tithes; but being rendered liable, it was to be apprehended that they would strive to get rid of the demands made by the church, from which they had suffered so much already. Thus, after the ancient feuds and civil wars, a new contest seemed likely to arise about the revenues of the two churches, and Ireland had the dismal prospect of being again involved in religious as well as political differences.

To avert such a calamity, Mr. Grattan once more came forward. He saw into futurity, and strove to settle the question respecting the two parties at once and for ever. With that view he sought to procure a valuation of all the tithes preparatory to a *modus*, or composition that he intended to propose, and accordingly, on the 8th of May, he brought forward a bill "to appoint Commissioners for the purpose of enquiring into the state of tithes in the different provinces of the kingdom, and to report a plan for the ascertaining the same."

On this occasion, the exertions of the protestant clergy were remarkable. The archbishop and bishops, and clergy of the province of Munster published a manifesto in reply to Mr. Grattan's speech of the year preceding, denying his statement as to the charges for tithes, asserting the moderation of the clergy, and appealing

to the noblemen and gentlemen of their respective dioceses against his speech, which they conceived had cast a stigma on the whole body of the clergy, and was an injury to the Established Church.

Mr. Grattan replied to this manifesto. He asked for enquiry, and offered to prove the statements he had made. In remarking on the zeal and spirit of the authors of the manifesto, he observed,—

"The Saviour of men suffered on a principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. The apostles, the martyrs, and that flaming constellation of men that in the early age of Christianity shot to their station in the heavens, and died, and dying illumined the nations of the earth with the blaze of the Gospel, were influenced by inspirations of a very different kind. Had Christ been of the prelate's opinion, he never had been born, and we never had been saved. Had he said to his apostles, 'The poor are not to be fed; the valley is not to laugh and sing at the expence of our church;' or had the apostles said to the nations of the earth, 'Ye are not to be benefited at the expence of Christian pastors;' or had the martyrs expostulated with themselves, 'We will not suffer for mankind,' what had become of the Christian religion? Let the Pagan priest of Jove, or the sensual priest of Mahomet deliver such doctrines; but do not you part with the palm of Christianity, nor relinquish the lofty self-surrendering precepts of your Gospel in order to brand your prayer-book with such profane notions as these.

"When certain right reverend dignitaries insist on the

poverty of the Irish church compared with that of England, they suggest to the people of Ireland the following question,—*What induced those dignitaries to come to Ireland?* Am I to understand that they left their great pretensions in the English church from a contempt of its riches, and sought preferment in the Irish church from a love of its poverty? Am I to understand that a contempt for dignity, added to a contempt of riches, has induced them to stand in the way of our native clergy, and happily fixes their humble eye upon the Irish mitre? Exalted, they are then at leisure to make pastoral observations on our people. The squirearchy are tyrants; the common people thieves; the Presbyterians enemies to the Constitution; and the Catholics incredible on their oaths! Having made an estimate of the value of our people, they proceed to a greater question, an estimate of the value of the income of the clergy; then they calculate, and like the industrious ant, or the busy bee, *thymo crura plena*, depositing in the episcopal cells the bulky store of ecclesiastical revenue, they return to the crowd, and expostulate with their brethren on the poverty of the Church.

"I speak of some—not all. There are among them men whom I revere; such is one whom I do not name, because he is present.* Mild, learned, pious, and benevolent—a friend to the meekness of the gospel, and a friend to men. Such is another whom I might name, because he is not present. He has the first episcopal dignity in this realm;† it is his right; he takes it by virtue of the commanding benevolence of his mind, in right of a superior and exalted nature. There are men possessed of certain creative powers, and who distinguish the place of their nativity, instead of being distinguished by it; they give

* The Archbishop of Tuam.

† Dr. Robinson, primate of all Ireland.

birth to the place of their residence, and vivify the region which is about them. The man I allude to I know not, or know him as we know superior beings — by his works.

"The clergy, no doubt, have reason to complain of the paper war. They have found, in a country where reason may write, the palm is not to the proud potentate. Their antagonists have reached them, but the worst wound came from their own quarter. The pompous folly, the dogmatical and intolerant spirit; the false alarm spread; the unfounded charge made; the want of discretion and the want of decorum. There is something which distinguishes an ecclesiastical war on the subject of property; a miraculous degree of perseverance—a marvellous portion of fire—a certain turbulence of zeal, and an appetite for the thing in controversy, which is not only keen, but ferocious. However, if their own publications have hurt them, the injury is not great; few of them have been read; most of them have been forgotten; the brief children of rank appetites, they have tasted of death even in the life-time of their ghostly progenitors.

"To the nobility and gentry of Munster the parochial clergy appeal. Why not the people?—do not they pay tithes? Do not their potatoe gardens pay tithe? The Saviour of man would not have passed them by. Had he only appealed to the nobility and gentry of Judea he must have overlooked his own apostles. Had the parochial clergy of Munster been left to themselves, their appeal would have taken a more evangelic direction; but when court potentates prescribe, when bishops suggest, the parochial clergy are controlled; and those right reverend apostles present, as usual, their faces to the great, and habitually turn from the poor and the Lord,—they overlook Lazarus expiring at their feet, and call on Dives to give his sense on the subject of charity.

"The parochial clergy of Munster inform you that the church is attacked; they tell you more,—that religion is attacked; and they tell you how, because an attack, as they conceive, has been made on their property; they annex divinity of religion to the importance of their own exertions. With every respect for the parochial clergy of Munster, I cannot accede to the irreverent and impudent familiarity with which divines on their side make common cause with the Almighty. The parochial clergy of Munster will agree with me that this licentiousness should be confined to human objects, and that the majesty of the Godhead should remain inviolate. What! is there nothing in our religion—nothing in its external—nothing in its internal evidence? Nothing in its miracles, prophecies, propagation, doctrine, and diction to raise its Author above the possibility of being affected by the paper war and wretched wrangle in which some idle ecclesiastics may have involved themselves? He has prevailed against greater enemies,—the pride of the high priest and the servility of the bishop; but it should seem that it was not religion that supported the parson, but the parson that supported religion. The error, however, is natural and common; the politician thinks the state rests on his shoulders, and the dignified divine imagines the church and the Christian religion the firmament and the starry sphere to dance round his person and property. It is a matter of curiosity to know what, on the present occasion, has endangered the Christian religion: an anonymous pamphlet against tithe, and a motion to inquire into the sufferings of the poor; for this is the Godhead brought out from its shrine, and exposed as an outwork in defence of church property. However, if their religion is so connected with every step they take, they have the remedy within themselves; let them agree to such acts as will

benefit the community, or let them cease to oppose every act that has a tendency to relieve or to inquire. Once more I offer a public inquiry; I solicit once more redress for the peasantry of this country. I offer a bill appointing commissioners for that salutary purpose; do the clergy of Munster decline the offer? What! are they afraid of an inquiry? Will they shelter themselves under a court? Have they come forth with a manifesto, and do they now deprecate an examination? Once more I offer it, and I add, that if this bill should pass, and commissioners should be appointed, the clergy will be made sensible that we are friends to the provision of the church, as well as to the relief of the people."

Mr. Grattan's motion was strongly opposed by the Government, and negatived without a division. This was his last effort on the subject, redress appeared hopeless; but when, after an interval of forty years, it was brought forward again, the people made themselves heard, and forced it on the Government in the midst of tumult and blood. Like the Catholic question, it required almost a civil war to carry the measure.

These speeches on tithes are perhaps some of the best that Mr. Grattan ever delivered. They contain great lights—fine precepts of religion and morality—an exalted sense of the divine attributes. They inculcate the paramount necessity of a pure and holy religion, freed from the wealth, the pomps, and vanities of this world. His object was to provide for the clergy, as well as to relieve the people. He was always sincerely attached to the Protestant church. The failure of his plan

was much regretted, and many clergymen have since expressed their sorrow that they lost the opportunity of arranging their claims consistently with the feelings and interests of the people. But they would not rely upon their own countryman; they distrusted his object; they doubted his sincerity. They trusted their cause—the peace of their native land, and the interest of the establishment— to the Parliament of another country, and to another people!

On this occasion Mr. Grattan was assailed by a host of manifestoes, pamphlets, and publications. He was accused of a design to pull down the Protestant establishment, and to favor the Catholics; he was called an enemy of all religion, and said to be possessed of none. He was accused of being an infidel, and it was gravely stated he never went to church, and that he never had prayers said at home,—assertions as idle as they were unfounded.

Had Mr. Grattan proposed that ten bishops should be abolished; that twenty-five per cent. should be struck off the income of every clergyman; and that where there were not 100 Protestants there should neither be church nor parson;—had he proposed this, the clergy would have considered him not as a leveller, but as a madman. And yet this was done*—done quietly —in part submitted to without a murmur—done

* See the Bills proposed in 1834, 1836, and 1837.

by another country—by a majority of the Parliament of another country assembled *out* of Ireland, to whom the Irish church had entrusted the preservation of their establishment, being afraid to confide it to their own.

Let this be a lesson to men not to run down their country or their countrymen, but to trust both and uphold both; and above all, let it warn them not, upon false suppositions, fears, or charges, to sell their birthright—to part with the dearest and most venerated institutions of their country in a moment of anger; for most probably, if they do, they will be treated as the Irish church, doomed to undergo similar curtailment, and forced to submit to equal humiliation.

The measures that were in contemplation for the benefit of the country, were successively rejected. Mr. Grattan's resolution respecting absentee offices and reversions; the bill to disable revenue officers from voting at elections; Mr. Forbes' pension bill; the police bill; the report even of the committee of the House of Commons, which condemned the old police;—Mr. Grattan's bill for the improvement of barren land, by exempting it from tithe; his bill for ascertaining the tithe on flax, with a view to the relief of the linen manufacturers; his bill to disable placemen from sitting in Parliament; all these were rejected. Thus ended the memorable session of 1789. Parliament adjourned to the 25th of May, and was afterwards prorogued.

A new spirit seemed now to have grown up in the administration, just as a new style and manner had appeared in the House of Commons. The former was vindictive and illiberal; the latter pert and arrogant. A new set of men sprang forward; a body of adventurers, possessed of a few hundred pounds a-year, who had no stake in the country, and had not at heart her real interests. They beheld men rewarded for taking part with the British minister against the sense of the Irish Parliament, and the wishes of the Irish people, and they steered their course accordingly.

To this party Mr. Pitt became enfeoffed. The course he pursued in Ireland in 1789, was similar to that pursued afterwards in 1797. He kept no measures with the people in either case; in both it was indiscriminate, general, and unmitigated punishment. He seemed determined that the working of the free constitution should be stopped; that the era of 1782 should exist merely in name, and in the wicked words of his minister (Fitzgibbon), "*to make the Irish gentry sick of their independence.*"*

To these men, with humble pretensions, inferior talents, little character, and no conscience, did Mr. Pitt hand over the country, as it were, absolutely and for ever. They were the ministers of the people at first; they became their executioners at last. Clare, Agar, Beresford, Duigenan,

* See his speech in Irish Parliamentary Debates and Journals of the day.

Cooke,—every bad and every odious man was advanced by Mr. Pitt in the very act of committing his mischief. The people only required to know them; they did not need nor did they ask to go farther: as Mr. Grattan expressed it, "*there was rebellion in their very names.*"

The Marquess of Buckingham's career now approached its termination. Having opposed many good measures, promoted many bad men, and increased the expenses of the country in a manner wanton and profligate,—having thus vented his wrath upon the country, he became as universally disliked as before he had been popular; and he retired from Dublin to the neighbourhood of the Black Rock. It was intended to have illuminated the capital on the night of his departure; but he stole away from his residence, and thus disappointed the indignation of the people whom he had so much injured and insulted.

Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Foster were sworn in Lords Justices, and it was not until the 5th of January that Lord Westmoreland arrived as Lord Buckingham's successor. Mr. Curran's observations in the debate on the address were strictly applicable to the occasion of the latter's departure. Mr. Curran said:—

"He felt the reverses of human fate. He remembered this very supplicant for a compliment, to which he pretended only because it was no compliment, drawn into this city by the people harnessed to his chariot, through

streets blazing with illuminations; and after more than a year's labour* at computation, he has hazarded on a paragraph stating no one act of private or public good,—supported by no man that says he loves him—attested by no act that says he ought to be loved—defended not by an assertion of his merit, but an extenuation of his delinquency. He was but little averse to accede to the sentiment of an honourable friend, who observed that he was soon to leave us, and that it was harsh to refuse him even a smaller civility than every predecessor for a century had got. For his part, he did not oppose his being borne away from us in the common hearse of his predecessors; he did not wish to pluck a single faded plume from the canopy, nor a single rag of velvet that might flutter on the pall."

It is time to state something in reference to the individual whose name and abilities were so well known in both countries. Mr. Curran was a very extraordinary character. From nothing, he became everything. Without family, friends, or fortune, he raised himself to one of the first judicial offices in the State, and in despite of his love of liberty and attachment to Ireland, he succeeded. Other men have ascended the bench by treading upon the people, and by selling their native land. Curran was superior to such base arts; he was unchangeable in his affection for both. For twenty-three years he toiled in their service—from 1783, when he came into the Irish

* Great enquiries were made into the public offices, and much lavish expenditure and many dishonest practices abolished.

Parliament, to 1806, when he was appointed Master of the Rolls. In the senate, at the bar, in the courts, in his public hours, or his private moments, his sentiments towards Ireland never changed; and they were more than earnest—they amounted to enthusiasm.

He was a man of surprising natural talent. In this respect there was no one in Ireland equal to him, and certainly none in England. Give him a subject, and he ornamented it in the best and brightest manner; he illumined it in the most brilliant and dazzling style, and drew down upon it all the lights that were capable of adorning it. His mind was a perfect prism, and cast the colours of the rainbow upon whatever passed through it. He was never at a loss; he was never puzzled. His vocabulary was rich to overflowing, and never failed him, whether in description or in argument. His style was highly ornamental, his language surprising, and his imagination wonderful,—at one moment sublime, at another pathetic; but his taste was not always good. His understanding was not correct, and he was sometimes deficient in statement. He could, however, argue well; but his judgment was not sound, and he loved imagination better than close reasoning. If it were not for these defects, he would have been the first of orators.

In private life, Curran's conversation was singularly entertaining, full of vivacity and humour,

and sometimes instructive; tinged, however, with some degree of affectation. His powers of ridicule were astonishing; it was not possible to resist the drollery of his descriptions. He cast over his stories a comicality that convulsed the auditory; so that the entire company, whether friends or foes, were seized with irresistible laughter. It may be truly said of him, "his flashes of merriment were wont to set the table in a roar."

Curran had not read very profoundly; he wanted the habit of application, and was too easily satisfied with superficial knowledge. In the House of Commons he did not succeed so well as at the bar. He spoke only on a few subjects, and he had not time to study the journals or the debates. If he had applied his mind in this respect, he would have succeeded. His replies to Lord Clare* and to Doctor Duigenan† were very good. His speech before the Privy Council‡ in the case of the Lord Mayor of Dublin was excellent. The metaphor he used on this occasion—"Error is in its nature flippant and compendious; it hops with airy and fastidious levity over proofs and arguments, and perches upon assertion, which it calls conclusion." This was light and pretty, and applied so exactly to Lord Clare, that he could not endure it; he lost his temper, stopped the

* On the propositions in 1785. † On the Catholic Debate, 1793.

‡ Before the Privy Council, 1790.

argument, and ordered the council-room to be cleared.

Curran was an ardent lover of liberty. He possessed great public spirit, and felt a strong indignation against all public abuses. He stood forth almost the only lawyer* who supported popular principles against the Government, and with a spirit that surprised every one, not only by its boldness, but its audacity. He was an honest public man, when he had every temptation to be corrupt, and had before him bad examples without number; but his mind never warped, nor did his heart ever for a single instant cease to beat in unison with his country.

Curran was too fond of applause, and possessed too much vanity; so that the ends of justice and the interests of his client did not always seem his favourite objects. Here Erskine bore away the palm. He did not appear to speak from his heart, and it was said he always shewed too much feeling to possess any. He was ill treated by the Chancellor, by the judges, and by the bar; he was even almost excluded by them. But he triumphed over all, and established a character for public integrity that was the envy of many, and was surpassed by none. There was no talent to be compared to his; there was no public spirit equal to his; there was no political courage like his; there was no patriotism superior to his.

* Fletcher should not be forgotten; he was a short time in parliament, and acted well.

Curran possessed great courage, personal as well as political. He fought Mr. St. Leger, Mr. Egan, Major Hobart, and Mr. Fitzgibbon (Lord Clare). The first of these duels arose from his speech on behalf of his client, a Roman Catholic clergyman; the second, from a quarrel in some cause in the law courts; the third, in consequence of a supposed insult from a person of the name of Giffard,* (a retainer of Government,) whom Curran thought it beneath him to fight; the last arose from an attack upon Ireland, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fitzgibbon, then Attorney-general. But Curran did more than all this—he did what few men would do, and what no other man did,—he defended the United Irishmen; he did it fearlessly and faithfully;† he defended them at the time of civil rage—at the period of torture, of martial law, and of military government, when the soldiery were in the capital, and stood guarding and threatening in the courts. This Cur-

* This individual, it was said, had shaken his stick at Mr. Curran at some distance in the street, which probably never was seen by Curran, and was a cowardly thing of Giffard, but of which the latter boasted. Curran disdained to fight so low a person, and wrote to the Secretary (Hobart) to have him dismissed; complaining of him, and pressing Mr. Hobart. The latter sent a reply that did not appear satisfactory, and Curran then sent a message. When the parties met, Hobart did not fire. Giffard was tried in the Viceroyalty of Lord Westmoreland, and convicted of an outrageous assault on a citizen of Dublin, but the Government remitted most of the punishment.

† Leonard M'Nally, the well known advocate, who was also counsel for the United Irishmen,—was in the receipt of a secret pension from Government. The circumstance did not transpire till after his death.

ran did, at the risk, almost at the threat, of being disbarred,* and almost at the hazard of being assassinated. On one occasion, when pleading, he turned to the soldiers, who were threatening round him, and exclaimed, "You may murder me, but you cannot intimidate me."

Curran had the Chancellor against him, the court against him, and the military against him. He opposed them all; yet he survived, and triumphed. He deserves to be upheld as a great example, and worthy of imitation. But even without any of these proud and honourable circumstances, his name would have descended to fame. His speeches alone would be sufficient to

* Curran used to relate the following anecdote:—"When Nelson (the United Irishman) was put on his trial, he was asked whether he had counsel: he started up, and said, 'Government have resolved to deprive me of the means of safety; my money is all gone; they have reduced me to this state of poverty, so that I cannot fee counsel.' I was among the silk gowns, and hearing this, I turned up to Nelson, and exclaimed, 'Now, Mr. Nelson, do you positively say you have no money, and do you mean to say that is the cause of your want of counsel? I am sure if you were to ask any lawyer in this court, he would take up your cause without fee or reward. For my part, if my services can be of any use to you, you may command them.' He replied, 'Sir, I accept the offer.' The next day Carleton (judge) came to me and said how singular and wrong a thing it was for any lawyer in *his majesty's* court, more especially a person in *my situation*, to volunteer the defence of a *traitor! And he hinted that my gown might be taken from me!* Conceive such a thing! For my part, I thought it would have been a disgrace to the bar, and to the country, if it was said that a man was to be tried for his life, and there was no lawyer to defend him because he had no money to fee a counsel. I said to Carleton, 'My lord, I thank you for this visit,' (I condescended to pun), 'his Majesty, my lord, may take away the silk, but he will leave the *stuff* behind.'"

preserve his memory. Those in the case of Hevey against Major Sirr, in the case of Judge Johnson, and in the case of Hamilton Rowan,* are masterpieces of oratory. The first, Mr. Fox greatly admired, and said it contained the finest satire. Such was the effect of the latter, that the people harnessed themselves to Curran's chariot, and drew him in triumph through the streets of Dublin, amidst the deafening applause of his fellow-citizens.

At *Nisi Prius*, and the cross-examination of a witness, Curran was unrivalled. But the court of equity was not the best adapted either for his knowledge or his talents; and the same want of application which caused him not to overcome Lord Clare in his own court, which he could easily have done if he had applied to his profession, affected him on the bench, where he now presided. His decisions, however, were not complained of, and he was complimented in addresses from the members of his profession.

When the Whigs came into power in 1806,

* In this case Mr. Rowan sent to Curran's friends to learn how far Curran would go along with him in his political opinions, and in the conducting of his defence would suffer himself to be governed by them. Curran, on being informed of this, was highly indignant, and sent him word that he would not listen to any such proposition, that he would not allow any man *to dictate to him his political trash, or any of his ignorant nonsense.* This spirited reply did not, however, prevent his being engaged for Rowan, and in his defence he delivered a most eloquent speech; but as to his politics, he never entertained a high opinion of them.

Curran was not well used. They paid him with reluctant honesty, and treated him with marked neglect, and he felt it deeply. But he forgot that the Union had taken place, and that *past* Irish services were not held in high esteem by the Whig aristocracy of England. His party came in and slighted him; they left in office their opponents, and left out of office their friends; and were not strenuous in rewarding public virtue; they became philosophers, not politicians, and forgot that if a Government wishes to possess the affections of an injured people, it must enter into their passions.

Junius justly observes, "The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not merely redress, but vengeance. *No man is authorized to forgive the injuries done to society.*" Junius might have added, if he does, the next step is to injure her himself. To reason otherwise, argues an ignorance of mankind; for nations in this respect are like individuals: their feelings must be gratified, and they never will rest content with a cold assertion of principle. When Hampden said to Lord Strafford, "*I will stick by you till I leave you on the scaffold,*" he spoke not only like an honest man, but like a wise one.

The Whigs were certainly bound to support Curran. George Ponsonby had signed the document in 1789, called the "round robin," by which the party were pledged not to take office

unless together. That stipulation was forgotten, and Curran was overlooked. William (afterwards Lord) Ponsonby, a vain but very honest man, grew angry; and at a meeting at Mr. Fox's he said, when a discussion arose on the subject, that they were bound to provide for Curran. Objections were made to his character, and to the transaction respecting his daughter* and Robert Emmett, which some alleged stood in the way; Lord Spencer attaching more importance to it than it merited—Mr. Fox attaching to it none whatever. The party were puzzled, and did not know what place to give him, and Mr. Grattan, it was said, humorously observed, "Better, then, make him an Irish bishop!"

Justice here compels one to say, that in his subsequent conduct, Curran committed a great mistake. He allowed Ponsonby to pay 800*l.* a-year for him (the salary of the clerk of his Court.) Thus he became a pensioner of the party, and placed himself completely in the wrong—as any man would do who would suffer another to pay a penny for him. Had he avoided this error, he would have triumphed, and deservedly stung his

* This related to some papers found at Mr. Curran's, which Government got in 1803. Robert Emmett had formed a strong attachment to his daughter, and wrote to her unknown to the father; he was not aware of the intimacy, and was too wise a man to have any thing to say to the politics of that party. He had known several of them in private, and had a very low opinion of their capacity.

party for the manner in which they treated him.

Sheridan, Curran, and Fox are striking instances, how necessary it is for great public men to be good private characters. Curran was not sufficiently select as to his company, nor was he fond of the best society; neither was he a very happy man. In private, he was unfortunate, and full of sores. His griefs too were frenzies. He had moments of rapture, but few of repose—none of content. Towards the close of his career, he grew restless, and dissatisfied. His brilliant imagination saw every thing through a distorted medium. He seemed, moreover, to feel bitterly the want of that sweet blessing—"*home;*" and when, after a long and stormy voyage, he had got safe into port, while others were driven back to sea again, he suddenly gave up his judicial office of Master of the Rolls, and threw off that sacred mantle, that covered a multitude of his wild errors, and made him rank among a dignified genus.

Peace to his ashes!* His faults stand redeemed

* A short time before his death he was condoling with Mr. Grattan upon Irish politics, when on a sudden he exclaimed, "I begin to tremble for Ireland. I almost wish *to go to Spain and borrow a beard and turn monk.* I am weaning of my early affections, and *wish the grave-digger would overtake me in another country.*" After this tirade, Mr. Grattan observed, "Yes; a man who inhabits a *secondary country* is obliged in his old age to travel, in order to live." Curran's wish was fulfilled. He died in 1817, at Brompton, near London, and was buried in an

by the splendour of his talents, and fade away before the virtuous affection he bore his native country.

adjacent church-yard; but his remains were afterwards disinterred, brought to Ireland, and deposited in the cemetery, north of Dublin, where a monument was by subscription erected over him. Mr. Grattan said of him, "I feel his loss; it leaves a blank, and recalls many pleasant moments that we have passed in public life together."

CHAPTER XIV.

Formation of the Whig Club—Lord Charlemont's and Mr. Edmund Burke's opinions—Whig opposition—Tory Government—Members of the Whig Club—Their declarations—Lord Westmoreland appointed Lord-lieutenant, and Mr. Hobart secretary—Proceedings of the Irish House of Commons in 1790—Singular speech of Mr. Parsons, afterwards Lord Rosse — Mr. Grattan's charges of corruption against the Government—Offers to prove them—Popular measures rejected —Abuse of justice in the case of fiats granted for libels—Continuation of sessions—Parliament dissolved—General election, 1790—Mr. Grattan returned for the city of Dublin—County of Down election—Mr. Robert Stewart (Lord Castlereagh) pledges himself to popular reform—His address to the electors.

To counteract the violence of the men that were in power, the opposition thought it expedient to form a society called the "Whig Club," similar to that in England, and upon the same liberal and constitutional principles. It certainly was a formidable body in the state,—a political assembly,—watching and superintending the measures of Government. But an institution of this kind was necessary in Ireland, and particularly at this time, in order to keep the party together, and guard against the Union; and though it failed in the latter object, it was nevertheless of great service.

There existed, unfortunately, this difference be-

tween Ireland and England,—that the Irish aristocracy were not resident: the landed proprietors, being in a great proportion Englishmen, were absentees; and the great mass of the people (chiefly Catholics) had not yet grown up to their free constitution. Hitherto the people, in order to carry their measures, had been obliged to act in masses, and had driven the Government before them, and compelled them to capitulate. But such a system could not long last, nor could such a course be always pursued or safely recommended. Thus there existed a comparatively small body to offer any permanent aid to liberal or any effectual resistance to unconstitutional measures. Public opinion in Ireland was nothing; so Mr. Burke had long before observed, and so it continued almost to the latest period, the short intervals of 1780 and 1782 excepted.

Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Forbes were the originators of the society called "The Whig Club." It embraced various shades of politics, much diversity of talents, persons of great worth, great genius, and great abilities; men ardently attached to the monarchy,—steady supporters of settled government,—attached to the principles of the revolution of 1688 in England,—and proud of that of 1782 in Ireland.

The establishment of this body met with the warm approbation of Mr. Burke. In his letter to Lord Charlemont, he says:—

"I think your lordship has acted with your usual zeal and judgment in establishing a Whig Club in Dublin. These meetings prevent the evaporation of principle in individuals, and give them joint force, and enliven their exertions by emulation. You see the matter in its true light, and with your usual discernment. Party is absolutely necessary at this time; I thought it always so in this country ever since I have had anything to do in public business."

Mr. Grattan, in his letter to Sir Jonah Barrington, more correctly states that the object was "to obtain an internal reform of Parliament, in which they partly succeeded,—and to prevent the Union, in which they failed."

The leaders of the opposition were of old Whig families, British settlers. Mr. Fitzgibbon, who had just obtained the seals, was of popish extraction, Tory in principle, and now completely wedded to that party in England. History has told what the Tory party have done. With Lord Bolingbroke at their head, they betrayed the interests of England, and sold the country to the Pretender; they lost the fruits of Marlborough's battles, and gave up the glory and empire of England. At the treaty of Utrecht they surrendered the victories of Great Britain, and then wanted to surrender the empire. By the treaty of Paris they lost the benefits of the seven years' war (in which they had beaten France); and subsequently by the treaty of 1814, they lost the advantages which

England had gained, and in the ensuing year they had to fight the battle over again.

It is singular that the minister, in 1814, should have fallen into an error similar to that committed before, and have taken moral instead of physical security; it is also remarkable that England should have always beaten France in the field, and have always been outwitted by her in the cabinet.*

The Whigs, however, sank with the Pretender: they were the supporters of liberty and his opposers. Sir Robert Walpole kept the family of Brunswick on the throne, against the great body of their enemies in England. The Whigs were necessary to the existence of that family, and were trusted by them during the reign of the two first Georges, but abandoned by them in the reign of the two last. In the latter years of George IV., in their contests with him they acted unwisely; they fell into an error similar to that committed in the reign of Charles II., when they injured themselves by becoming too violent, and ran into the extreme of party. Unfortunately, too, it must be confessed, that the manners of some of their leaders were very bad, cold, haughty, and reserved; consequently, they lost favour with the court, and popularity with the people. In Ireland they wanted wisdom and consistency.

* The management by Lord Palmerston, in the negociation of this year with France, (1840) forms, however, an exception.

Below is the list of the members of the Whig club, and the resolutions they published declaratory of their views and principles.* This latter document is the more remarkable, because at this period the doctrines of the French revolution were beginning to appear, and it might be sup-

* Whig Club.

Original Members.—Dublin, June 26, 1789.

His Grace the Duke of Leinster.	John Philpot Curran, esq.
His Grace, Archbishop of Tuam.	Willian Ogilvie, esq.
Right Hon. Earl of Charlemont.	Arthur Browne, esq. (College)
„ Earl of Granard.	Francis Hardy, esq.
„ Earl of Moira.	William Doyle, esq.
„ Earl of Portarlington.	John Doyle, esq.
„ Earl of Shannon.	Sir John Freke, Bart.
„ Earl of Louth.	Rt. Hon. Sir Skeffington Smith, Bt.
„ Earl of Arran.	Sir Michal Cromie, Bart.
„ Earl of Grandison.	Thomas Burgh, esq. (Old Town)
„ Earl of Ross.	Lodge Morris, esq.
„ Earl Farnham.	Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.
„ Ld. Visct. Mountgarret.	John Staples, esq.
Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Downe.	Right Hon. Lord Chief Baron
Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitzgerald.	Yelverton.
„ Lord Edward Fitzgerald.	Hon. Baron Metge.
„ Thomas Conoly.	John Wolfe, esq.
„ John O'Neil.	William Burton, esq.
„ Henry Grattan.	Sir Annesley Stewart, Bart.
„ William Ponsonby.	James Stewart, esq. (Donegal)
George Ponsonby, esq.	Richard Neville, esq.
James Stewart, esq. (Killamoen)	Sir Edward Newenham, Bart.
Denis Bowes Daly, esq.	Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart.
John Forbes, esq.	Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish, Bt.
Sir Edward Crofton, Bart.	

Elected Members.—July 10, 1789.

George Lowther, esq.	Richard Sheridan, esq.
Travers Hartley, esq.	Rev. Edward Berwick.
Richard Griffith, esq.	

posed would have affected the leaders of the popular party. The objects here revealed will be

August 19, 1789.

Right Hon. Lord Lismore.	Bartholomew Hoare, esq.
Sir Richard St. George, Bt.	Rev. Richard Stack.
Hon. Francis Matthew.	Francis Knox, esq.
Mervyn Archdall, esq.	William Handcock, esq.
John Egan, esq.	Theobald M'Kenna, esq.
Wogan Brown, esq.	John Preston, esq.

Septemper 17, 1789.

Simon Digby, esq.	Henry Hatton, esq.
Henry Bruen, esq.	Gorges Lowther, jun., esq.
Richard Grace, esq.	

November 4, 1789.

Andrew Caldwell, esq.	Rev. Mr. O'Bern.
William Hume, esq.	

November 18, 1789.

George Macquay, esq.	Richard Archdall, esq.

December 11, 1789.

Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Killala.	Luke Fox, esq.
George Carroll, esq.	William Irvine, esq.
Rev. James Verschoyle.	Thomas Townsend Dawson, esq.

January 19, 1790.

Major Gorges Irvine.	William Loftus, esq.
Daniel Gahan, esq.	Rev. William Irvine.
Edmond O'Callaghan, esq.	William Perse, esq.
Hamilton Rowan, esq.	Charles Newenham, esq.
John Edwards, esq.	

January 29, 1790.

Right Hon. The Earl of Cork.	Richard Jebb, esq.
Colonel Staples.	Robert Phayre, esq.
Rev. Archdeacon Caulfield.	Major John Murray.
William Carroll, esq.	Peter Rutledge, esq.

February 9, 1790.

Henry Gonne Bell, esq.	John D'Arcy, esq.

February 17, 1790.

Thomas Barton, esq., M. P.	James Dawson, esq.
Coghil Cramer, esq.	Frederick Faulkner. esq.
William Judge, esq.	

found to be strictly constitutional; they refute the charge of democratic principles so often made

March 4, 1790.

Philip Newton, esq.
Arthur Molesworth, esq.
Francis Hopkins, esq.
William Thomas Smith, esq.
Gilbert Webster, esq.

March 26, 1790.

Sir Edward Loftus, Bart.
Cornelius Grogan, esq.
Captain Brooke.
Edward Jones Agnew, esq.

Dublin, August 19th, 1789.

RESOLUTIONS AND DECLARATIONS OF THE WHIG CLUB.

Whereas under the circumstances of our renovated Constitution, we deem it necessary that a constant and unremitting watch should be kept against every step of encroachment upon those rights which have been lately re-established, and for the safety of which we cannot but apprehend more danger from an administration, which has already insidiously attempted to infringe them, than we should from a ministry formed of those men, under whose power, and with whose concurrence they were originally restored to us, and whose principles we must approve, because they are our own.

And whereas, at the present critical juncture, (when, besides many other alarming symptoms, we clearly perceive a settled and premeditated plan to sap the liberties of Ireland, by overwhelming her with expences, and consequent debt, in order to the increase of unconstitutional influence in her Parliament,) it is expedient to adopt every measure which may contribute to bring, and to keep together, men of genuine Whig Principle, and consequently ardent lovers of their country and of its liberties: we think it may be useful, to institute a Society of congenial characters, under the appellation of the Whig Club, so styled from the principles and motives of its constituents.

And, that every candidate for this Club, may be fully apprized of the motives and intentions of those with whom he wishes to associate, we have framed the following body of resolutions and declarations, to be perused and subscribed by all such candidates, previously to their admission.

Resolved, That the great object of this Society, is the constitution of

against the Opposition; and if they had been honestly carried into effect, they would have averted much of the evils that afterwards ensued.

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the realm, as settled by the revolution in Great Britain and Ireland in 1688—and re-established in Ireland 1782.

That we will support and maintain, as a principal object and fundamental part of that constitution—The "SACRED RIGHTS of the PEOPLE;" and above all, that great, indispensable right of the subjects of this realm, to be free from, and independent on the authority of any Parliament, or legislature whatsoever, save only the Parliament of Ireland;—that is to say, the King of Ireland, and the Lords and Commons of this realm.

We, therefore, protest against and abjure as illegal and criminal, a doctrine, which, on a late occasion, has been advanced, "that the Parliament of another country had, in the appointment of a Regent over this realm, a legislative authority."

We declare, that the Parliament of Ireland—that is to say, "the King of Ireland, and the Lords and Commons thereof," are the only legislature of this realm.

And we further declare, that as far as in us lies, we will endeavour to preserve to this country in all times to come, a Parliament of her own, residing within this realm, and exclusively invested with all Parliamentary privileges and powers.

That we will for ever support and maintain the constitutional rights and dignity of the Imperial Crown of Ireland; and we do abjure as illegal and criminal a doctrine lately advanced, "that his Majesty legislates in Ireland as King of Great Britain," in as much as said doctrine is not founded in our laws, militates against our Constitution, affects to depose the King of Ireland, and tends to dissolve the principles of our allegiance and our liberty.

That the best and surest method of preserving the constitutional rights of the Crown, is to preserve and transmit the same in succession in the House of Brunswick.

That we shall ever adhere to the principles which directed the Lords and Commons of Ireland, when, on a late melancholy occasion, they addressed his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to take on himself during his Royal father's indisposition, the administration of affairs, free from occasional and unconstitutional restrictions; such restrictions

In England there existed a law preventing revenue officers from voting at elections, and by

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being more calculated to answer the views of ambition, than to preserve liberty, or to promote the solid interests of the empire.

That we shall ever maintain and vindicate the principle and justice which actuated our Parliament, when, on behalf of the people of this realm, they did impose a public and merited censure on his Excellency the Marquis of Buckingham, for his ill-advised, unwarranted, and unconstitutional conduct.

That we will ever maintain, as sacred and indissoluble our connection with Great Britain, being in our opinion, indispensably necessary for the freedom of this kingdom in particular, and for the freedom, strength, and prosperity of the empire in general.

We have set forth the great principles and objects of the Whig Club; and we have formed this society, because we apprehend some of those objects are in danger.

The rights of the people of Ireland have been publicly and ministerially questioned by the present Chief Governor.

A right in the Parliament of another country to make laws for this kingdom, in the case of a Regency, has been by the Ministers of the Crown in Ireland, advanced and defended.

The competency of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament on a late occasion, has been denied.

The legislative capacity of the King of Ireland has been denied, and the great seal of another country held up as a substitute for the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

The undue influence of the Crown over both Houses of Parliament has been of late, beyond all example increased.

A Pension Bill has been rejected by the influence of the present Ministers of Ireland.

A Place Bill has been rejected by the same influence.

A bill for the better securing the freedom of election, by disqualifying revenue officers from voting for members to serve in Parliament, has been rejected by the same influence.

The present extravagant, ineffectual and unconstitutional police of the city of Dublin, has been continued and patronized by the same influence.

means of this salutary enactment the influence of the Crown was considerably diminished; but in

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All proceedings in Parliament to remove the grievance, or censure the abuse, have been resisted and defeated, by the same influence.

The expediency of combating by corruption, a constitutional majority in Parliament, has been publicly avowed, and the principle so avowed has been in part carried into execution.

Honours, as we apprehend, have been sold, and the money deposited for the purpose of purchasing seats in the Commons, for the dependants of administration, in order to procure for the Minister a majority in Parliament. For the same corrupt purpose, useless offices have been created or revived.

Boards for the same unconstitutional and venal purpose have been divided; sinecure offices split to multiply the number of Commissioners, for no other purpose than to increase the influence of the Minister, and gratify the individual.

For the same venal purpose, and with as little colour or pretence, salaries have been augmented, to increase the Parliamentary influence of the Minister, at the expence of the nation.

A plan of intimidation has aided and abetted the views of corruption; and members of Parliament have, by the Minister, been expressly threatened with being made "the victims of their votes," or have been displaced, for no reason or pretence whatever, except their constitutional conduct in Parliament.

That we apprehend these proceedings and principles avow a design to govern this country unconstitutionally, and must, if successful, render the Minister absolute in the Parliament of Ireland, by corruption.

That this danger is the more to be apprehended, because there is no fixed or adequate responsibility in the situations of the persons who direct the affairs of this country; and the Minister of Ireland (however culpable), is but too likely to elude public justice.

That, to redress, as far as in us lies, these grievances, we have formed this society, and resolved:—

That, in whatever situation we shall stand, we will exert our endeavours, by all legal and constitutional means, to annul and do away all the expenses and charges above alluded to; and in order to secure this country against the repetition of such grievances, we further resolve to struggle by the same means for the attainment of those objects, which,

Ireland the opposition had in vain attempted to carry a similar measure. Mr. Grattan intending to bring forward a bill on this subject in the ensuing session, applied to Mr. Forbes to ascertain how the law had operated in England. Its beneficial effect will here be seen from the letter of Mr. Forbes :—

MR. FORBES TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, Dec. 21*st*, 1789.

Dear Grattan,

I have not been forgetful of your letters, and directions, as to the number of boroughs *wrested from the Court* by the Revenue Officers' Bill. They were computed at *seventy;* the number of Revenue Officers disqualified, *nine thousand and five hundred.* As to the Contractors' Bill, it was con-

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at the close of the last session were proposed by the minority in Parliament, and resisted by the Minister.

And whereas, in the year 1785, on the credit of a commercial adjustment, which, for reasons never-to-be forgotten, did not take place; new taxes to the amount of 140,000*l.* per annum were granted, under an engagement, that the economy of the Minister should co-operate with the bounty of Parliament, to prevent the excess of expense above income. We therefore think it the more incumbent on us, as far as in us lies, to resist the present extravagance of Government, being a direct breach of the faith of Ministers, pledged on that occasion, as well as the certain means of increasing the taxes and the debt of the nation, to supply expenses incurred, with a design to diminish her integrity, and undermine her freedom.

Resolved, that no person elected into this Club, shall be considered as a member thereof, till he has subscribed to the above resolutions and declarations.

Resolved, that these resolutions be printed for the use of the members.

Signed by Order,
Thomas Conolly, Sec.

sidered more as a cautionary measure, than such as was to produce an immediate effect.

Respecting the establishment of the Ordnance, I applied to the Duke of Portland, and requested him to refer me to some of his friends who had served in that department. He recommended me to Adams and Pelham. The former could not afford me any complete information. I have written to Pelham, who answered me, that it was impossible to furnish me with a correct state of that establishment till his return to town after Christmas. I shall write to Pelham, to entreat him to send me this statement as soon as possible, but particularly before the Committee of Accounts sits.

Be assured I shall not lose sight of my *Responsibility Bill.* You cannot forget that I expressed a wish last winter to move this business; but you mentioned that Lord S. and some other friends were indisposed. I perceive you have introduced it into the resolutions of the Whig Club; though it is not one of those measures to which the members in the concluding resolutions pledge themselves.

I am surprised to find that you are to decline the city, and stand for Wicklow. Don't write in answer, as I shall leave town this week for Chester. You don't mention Mrs. Grattan, therefore I conclude and trust that she is as well as I could wish her.

The King is much disgusted with Pitt, and would be happy to receive our friends into favour, if they were inclined to accede to any proposal of accommodation. The Cabinet is miserably divided; yet there is not any prospect of an effectual change. The treaty lately concluded with Prussia has embarrassed Pitt, as the Court of Berlin favours the residence of the Emperor's subjects in Brabant —nay, it is confidently reported, is determined openly to

support their pretensions as far as an establishment of independence. Brussels is taken by the patriots. The National Assembly at Paris are now considered as really efficient, and proving themselves in a capacity of doing business. They have arranged all matters respecting their internal constitution; and the monied men in France and Amsterdam have accommodated their differences with Neckar, in such a manner as to afford a well-founded hope of a re-establishment of public credit in a tolerable degree. A complete establishment cannot be expected from an experience of the new Constitution. Yours ever,

JOHN FORBES.

The proceedings of the House of Commons in the short session of the year 1790, were peculiar and interesting, and were conducted with great activity and public spirit. The opposition were bold, undaunted, and disinterested, persevering in their efforts, and national in their objects; they had acquired strength and numbers, and, persecuted or rather "*victimized*" as they were by the Chancellor and his party, they found themselves driven to act in concert. They took refuge together, and proceeded with renovated vigour. Mr. Grattan came forward more avowedly as their leader than he had hitherto done. It was, however, said their proceedings were the result of faction concerted at meetings, clubs,* and taverns, and a low species of language was resorted to, and applied to them by the party who had excluded them from power, and "whose joy, like

* Lord Clare's speech in the House of Lords.

their revenge" on this occasion knew neither decency nor moderation.

Mr. Hobart was the secretary. He had been brought up in a bad school,—that of the American war, where he served in the British army, and from thence he came to Ireland. He was appointed aid-de-camp to his uncle, then Lord Lieutenant; afterwards Secretary to the Marquess of Buckingham; and was now continued in that office by his successors. He was a man of excellent manners, gay, convivial, and affable; he was sensible and agreeable, and mixing with the leaders of both parties, contrived by his amiable qualities and his social disposition, to acquire a certain degree of popularity,—but he was a hard governor notwithstanding, and not any friend to the Roman Catholics.*

On the 5th of January, 1790, Lord Westmoreland arrived. He came over to Ireland to govern by corruption; he avowed it, and he practised it.

* In 1794, he went to India as Governor General of Madras. He was first married to Miss Adderley, an Irish lady, and afterwards to a daughter of Lord Auckland. He held the situation of Clerk of the Pleas in the Court of Exchequer, and though an absentee, he received the emoluments. This evil of absentee employments was of great magnitude;—the offices of prothonotaries, Clerk of the Crown, Keeper and Filacer of the King's Bench, were held by Lord Henry, and Lord Robert Seymour Conway; the office of Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer was held by the Wellesley family; the entire of the profits of these offices were stated at near 50,000*l.* a-year, drawn from the country for sinecure employments, and given to absentees. Junius says, "*the people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed.*"

His first act was to treat Lord Charlemont exceedingly ill. Lord Charlemont had rendered himself obnoxious to Government by the part he had taken in favour of the people, particularly by his conduct in the Whig club,—accordingly the new Viceroy turned him out of the governorship of Armagh, or which was the same thing, he appointed Lord Gosford joint-governor with him, an insult which forced him to resign.

On the 21st, Parliament was opened with the ordinary speech from the throne. On reading the passage which declared the intention of the Viceroy to uphold the same system of policy as his predecessors, Mr. Grattan objected. He stated the expenses which had been incurred,—the appointment of two additional commissioners of revenue,—the appointment of a second counsel to those commissioners,—the division of the board of stamps and accounts,—and the erection of ten commissioners with large salaries. He condemned the conduct of the Marquess of Buckingham, the effects of whose administration and its repetition he pronounced would be fatal to the constitution of the country.

Opposition now commenced a fierce and incessant contest. The subjects were numerous, their grievances great; but their spirit was great likewise. The various motions that they made were as follow:—On the first of February, Mr. Grattan moved that the resolutions of the House against

increasing the number of commissioners of the revenue, and dividing the board, be laid before the King, "with an address praying that he will communicate the names of the persons who recommended the measure." The conduct and extravagance of the Marquess of Buckingham formed the principal subject of debate. The motion was lost by 80 to 135. The striking parts of Mr. Grattan's speech were as follows:—

"Mr. Locke, who established and rooted the Revolution in the minds of the English, maintains, that an attempt on the part of the executive power to corrupt the Legislature, is a breach of trust, which if carried into a system, is one of the causes of a dissolution of the Government. 'The executive,' says he, 'acts contrary to its trust when it uses the force, the treasure, or the offices of the society, to corrupt the representatives, and to gain them over to its purpose. To prepare such an assembly, and to endeavour to set them up as the real representatives of the people, and the law-makers of the society, is surely as great a breach of trust, and as perfect a declaration of a design to subvert the Government, as can possibly be:'—to which, if we add rewards and punishments, visibly employed to the same end, what had Mr. Locke thought of your policy?—a set of men possessing themselves of civil, military, and ecclesiastical authority, and using it with a fixed and malignant intention to corrupt the morals of the people, in order to undermine the freedom of the community, and to make the nation individually base, in order to make her collectively contemptible.

"Blackstone, having summed up the array of Court influence, stops to tremble at it. 'Surely this never could have been the design of our patriot ancestors, who abo-

lished the formidable parts of the prerogative, and by an unaccountable want of foresight, established this system in their place.' He concludes with a pious wish, that this influence may be diminished, and with a parental admonition to the youths of England, to guard their country against that monster which, in the hands of the present Government, shakes this realm—the servile and corrupt influence of the Minister. The late Lord Chatham, bending over the corrupt decline of England, confesses this influence. Give her a more popular representation, pour in a new portion of health, to enable her to sustain her infirmities. Pour in a new portion of poison, says the Irish Minister, that she may sink under the accumulation of her infirmities.

"This danger of extravagant influence, the Commons of England have confessed. Exasperated by defeat, exhausted by war, the effect of twelve years' implicit compliance under that very influence, they at last proclaim, 'It is true the influence of the Crown is too much; it ought to be diminished.' Here I shall be stopped, and told that the fact has failed the prophecy, and that the constitution of England has stood;—but let us not therefore infer that it is not much impaired, nor confound the slow decline of a state with the rapid mortality of a man, nor forget what mortal symptoms she has given, both when the people, as in 1769, appealed to the Crown against their Parliament, and when the Crown, as in 1783, appealed against Parliament to the people.

"Let them further recollect, that the constitution of Great Britain has been from time to time shocked back to her original principle by a number of acts, some of which I have referred to; acts which disable the Crown from splitting commissions to multiply placemen; acts which disqualify all persons holding offices created since a certain period from sitting in Parliament; acts which disable

all commissioners of customs of excise, stamps' collectors, —in short, the whole tribe of the revenue, from sitting in Parliament; acts which disqualify all pensioners during pleasure from sitting in Parliament; all pensioners during years from sitting in Parliament; acts which disable the Crown from exceeding a certain sum in grants of pensions; acts which disqualify from voting at elections the whole tribe of the revenue.

"Let them further recollect, that there are in England certain counteracting causes;—and first, the majesty of the people, a great, authoritative, and imperious public; their voice interferes, their instructions overawe not the deliberations of the body, but frequently the deliberations of that individual of the body that hesitates between his vote and his venality. Let them recollect that there is in England such a thing as responsibility; the public malefactor there cannot always retire from public mischief to triumphant impunity.

"Let them recollect further, that in England there is a check in great connexions formed on a great public creed; party founded on principle, supported by ambition, cemented by honour, and exalting the component parts above the dominion of salary, and the impulse of famine, political famine, of too many in this country the epidemic disease. This has served as a secondary cause of public safety; and whether you call it a higher order of infirmity, or a lower order of virtue, has helped to preserve the life, or to prolong the *euthanasia* of the British constitution. How far all these causes actually at this time flourish in England, I shall not pretend to decide; but I fear they do not exist, or are in danger of being lost in Ireland. First contemplate your state, and then consider your danger. Above two-thirds of the returns to this House are private property—of those returns many actually this very moment sold to the Minister; the number of place-

men and pensioners sitting in this House equal to near one-half of the whole efficient body; the increase of that number within these last twenty years greater than all the counties in Ireland. The bills that do exist in England, and should have shocked you back to your original principles, and are necessary to purge the public weal, and to defend you not only against the Minister, but yourselves, —pension bill, place bill, and others, systematically resisted. The corruptions these laws would guard against, in a most extraordinary manner resorted to by the present Ministers of the Crown, and not only resorted to, but made the sole instrument of their Government. The laws which depart from the first principles of the Constitution, Excise, Riot Act, Police Bill, readily adopted, and obstinately maintained—the counteracting clauses—the responsibility of the Minister *a shadow*—the majesty of the people, like the Constitution, frittered out of your Court—some of the populace had gone too far—the Court availed itself of popular excesses to cry down constitutional principles; they began with a contempt of popularity—they proceeded to a contempt of fame, and they now vibrate on the last string, a contempt of virtue; and yet these were checks not only in a constitutional public, but in certain connections; these generally supported the Minister, and occasionally checked his enormities.

"Against this refuge,—against the power of the Irish community in general, and this force in particular, is the present policy directed. It is a policy which would govern this country by salary distinct from power, or by power distinct from responsibility. No sturdy tribune of a constitutional public,—no check in an independent nobility.

"I say I have shewn this measure to be a disregard to the sense of this House, for the purpose of extending influence; this leads me from the particular subject, to the general policy; the nature of this policy I have described;

the ultimate consequences I shall not now detail, but I will mention one which seems to include all:—I know you say a union—no, it is not the extinction of the Irish Parliament, but its disgraceful continuation. Parliament, under the success of such a project, will live, but live to no one useful purpose. The Minister will defeat her attempts by corruption, and deter the repetition of her attempts by threatening the repetition of the expenses of corruption. Having been long the bawd, Corruption will become the sage and honest admonitress of the nation. She will advise her no more to provoke the Minister to rob the subject;—she will advise her to serve in order to save,—to be a slave on the principles of good housewifery. Then will Parliament, instead of controlling the Court, administer to its licentiousness, provide villas and furniture for the servants of the Castle, afford a place army to obnoxious members; accommodate with cruel and contradictory clauses the Commissioners of the Revenue, or feed on public rapine the Viceroy's clanship!

"Parliament, that giant that purged these islands of the race of tyrants, whose breed it was the fortune of England to preserve, and of Ireland to adopt;—parliament, whose head has for ages commerced with the wisdom of the gods, and whose foot has spoken thunder and deposition to the oppressor, will, like the sacred giant, stand a public spectacle shorn of his strength, or rather like that giant he will retain his strength for the amusement of his enemies, and do feats of ignominious power to gratify an idle and a hostile court; and these walls, where once the public weal contended, and the patriot strove, will resemble the ruin of some Italic temple, and abound not with senators, but with animals of prey in the guise of senators, chattering their pert debates, and disgracing those seats which once belonged to the people. Here you will stop to consider, and

demand why all this?—why this attack on Ireland? The Minister will tell you what caused, but I will tell you what contributed—it was impunity—impunity! You have no adequate responsibility in Ireland, and politicians laugh at the sword of justice, which falls short of their heads, and only precipitates on their reputations. Sir, this country has never yet exercised herself in the way of vindictive justice. In the case of Strafford she was but an humble assistant; and yet in this country we have had victims—the aristocracy at different times has been a victim—the whole people of Ireland for almost an entire century were a victim; but Ministers in all the criminal successions——here is a chasm, a blank in your history. Sir, you have in Ireland *no axe*,—therefore no good Minister."

On the 4th of February, Mr. Curran made a similar motion with respect to the division of the Board of Stamps and Accounts, and the increase of salary to the officers. This was lost by 81 to 141.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Forbes moved an address to his Majesty respecting the expenses and revenue of the country, that the pensions have been increased upwards of 100,000*l.*; that since 1787 they had been augmented 12,000*l.*; and since 1784 upwards of 29,000*l.* The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Parnell) entered into a defence of these measures. The motion was lost by 92 to 136.

On the 15th, Mr. George Ponsonby moved an address to the King, complaining of the public expenses of last year, and that many new and

increased salaries had been annexed to offices granted to members of the House. So rapid an increase of places, together with the additional pensions, could not but alarm them; and they feared his Majesty's servants had abused his confidence for the purpose of increasing their influence. The motion was lost on a division by 87 to 146.

The speech which Mr. Parsons (afterwards Lord Rosse) made on this occasion was so remarkable that it is worth inserting. It shows that the complaints against the Government were not without a just foundation, when an individual who had not been hitherto distinguished by a very active opposition to ministers, and who had not taken an inimical part in the question of the Regency, delivered such unsparing censure upon them. He exclaimed:—

"Who out of Ireland ever hears of Ireland? What name have we among the nations of the earth? Who fears us? Who respects us? What notice have foreign states of us? Where are our negociators? Where are our ambassadors? What treaties do we enter into? What alliances do we form? With what nation do we make peace or declare war? Are we not a mere cypher in all these? and are not these what give a nation consequence and glory and fame? *All these are sacrificed to the connection with England; absorbed in her, we forego every thing that is great and aspiring, and are satisfied with our humble and obscure situation;* and what can we get in return, or what ought we to get? *I say an honest and*

frugal Government, for it is the principal compensation that ought to be made to us. To what purpose is it that we are free from the expenses of a fleet, or of foreign ministers, or royal court, or all the splendid appendages of empire, if we are to be as much *exhausted by a pilfering, jobbing rapine at home?* If we are to have expense, let us have empire; or since we are willing to relinquish empire, let us be freed from expense.

"What has been the fate of Ireland from the first memorial we have of its history to the present day? Antecedent to the reign of Henry II., barbarism, except what weak illuminations were cast upon it for a time by monkish learning. What has been its fate from thence to the American war? Ignominious obscurity,—the name of it not to be found in the page of history, except where some rebellion or massacre has brought it into notice. What is its situation now? A suburb to England sunk in her shade. We are an independent kingdom—true; we have an imperial crown distinct from England—true; but it is a metaphysical distinction—a mere sport for speculative men—nothing in act or efficiency. Who govern us? English ministers, or *rather the deputies of English ministers—mere subalterns in office, who never dare aspire to the dignity of any great sentiment of their own.* Yet all this we submit to—we are satisfied—we are content—and only ask in return for an honest and frugal Government. Is it just—is it wise—is it safe to deny it? *The people of this island are growing more enlightened every day, and will know and feel their situation:* they will do more, they will know and feel their power. Near four millions of people, in a most defensible country, ought perhaps to be counted, but certainly ought not to be insulted with the petty, pilfering, jobbing, corrupting tricks, of every deputy of an English minister that is sent over here. *The people of Ireland*

have the feelings of men, they suffer like men, and they may be found to resent like men; but there is an arrogance somewhere that is apt to treat the people of this country as if they were a sort of inferior order of beings; and perhaps too many of our sycophant countrymen may have contributed to promote this opinion; but it shall be found and felt that this is not the national characteristic, but that this island abounds with men of as high minds as any nation whatsoever in its vicinity. His Majesty's ministers may carry on the Government here for some time as at present, repudiating every man of honour and talents;—the base influence of corruption may for a time be substituted for both; it may bear ministers through, in ordinary times; but whenever *any day of difficulty or danger arrives, then the effects of this debasing system will be felt, and may be fatal!*

"To arm a country with power first, and to treat it afterwards as if it were impotent, is the most preposterous folly. Why was it that the people required those concessions which were made during the American war? Because they expected to be governed better in consequence of them. Do you think then they will be satisfied if they are not? Those concessions on the part of the English Parliament, I grant, were as ample as they well could be, for they were every thing short of separation. Let ministers then beware what conclusions they may teach the people if they teach them this, *that the attainment of every thing short of separation will not attain for them good Government.*

On the 20th of February, Mr. Grattan moved:

"That a select committee be appointed to enquire in the most solemn manner, whether the late or present administration have entered into any corrupt agreement with

any person or persons, to recommend such person or persons to his Majesty as fit and proper to be made by him, peers of this realm, in consideration of such person or persons giving certain sums of money, to be laid out in procuring the return of members to serve in Parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconsistent with the independency of Parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

Some passages of his speech on this occasion give such a description of the Government, that they deserve attention on this ground alone, independent of the beauty of their style and the force of their principles.

"Sir, we persist to combat the project to govern this country by corruption. We have hitherto contended against those parts of the system which proceeded to undermine the constitution without an apparent breach of the law, and therefore might impose on the public as a government by law. Such was the addition of two unnecessary commissioners; such were the additional salaries to four officers of the ordnance; such, in short, the creation of fourteen new parliamentary places, and of eight or nine parliamentary pensions, in the course of less than twelve months. These measures import their own criminality, and bespeak on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, a design to govern this country by sapping the foundation of her liberty.

"But there is another part of this project wherein his Majesty's Ministers have not only attempted to undermine the Constitution, but have actually broken the laws; for that part of the project we conceive his Majesty's Ministers to be impeachable. Sir, the sale of honours is an impeachable offence; the crime speaks itself. But to

take the point out of doubt, I will state you a case: the Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles the First, was impeached on thirteen articles, and the ninth article was the sale of honours—the very crime of which the Ministers of Ireland have been guilty. He was impeached for the sale of a peerage to Lord Roberts for 10,000*l.* Thus, I infer two things: first, that the Ministers of this country are guilty of impeachable offences; secondly, that those offences are ripe for parliamentary proceedings.

"Give me leave now to dwell a little on the consequence of their crimes, and the necessity of bringing the criminals to punishment. I shall lay before you their project of government. Considering it, first, as an instrument of domestic government; and secondly, as a bond of connection. As an instrument of government, it is very powerful indeed, for it will make the Minister not only strong, but absolute. He will first buy the question, and afterwards favour you with the forms of debating it. He will cry up Parliament when it is venal; and cry Parliament down when it feels the stings of remorse. He will be soon, however, raised above the necessity of those artifices: for the ascendency he will obtain, will not only secure a majority on all ordinary occasions, but deprive the people of the chance of a majority on any, and will procure a Legislature ready to allow any expense, and overlook any crime, and adopt any measure, according as the divan of the Castle shall give to its Janissaries here the word of command. Thus will this country lose, not indeed the existence of Parliament, but whatever can be derived from it.

"The present Administration, therefore, is an enemy to the law: first, because it has broken the law; secondly, because it has attempted to poison the true sources both of legislation and of justice: and however the friends of that

Administration may talk plausibly on the subject of public tranquillity, they are, in fact, the ringleaders of sedition placed in authority. Rank majorities may give a nation law, but rank majorities cannot give law authority.

"But there is another circumstance attending the project, which should naturally have weight with Ministers—I mean the difficulty of carrying this pernicious project into full execution. Do not, gentlemen, imagine that the country will at last find them out. We will discover that this multiplication of placemen, increase of pension, sale, or rather indeed, brokerage of honours, is a conspiracy against her—not against the aristocracy, but Ireland.

If the nature of the measures did not impart their own criminality and mischief, yet the conversation of the projectors have been full and explanatory on the subject:—'Any money for a majority: give us the treasury and we buy the Parliament.' But conversations of this sort have even entered these walls. 'These new charges are political expedients. Ireland was sold for 1,500,000*l.* formerly, and if opposition persists, will be sold again.'

"I do not describe this policy as hostile to Ireland—a country you do not love; but so very hostile to Ireland, as to touch even the interest of the British court—a court you may not love, but a court you certainly mean to flatter.

"I say, therefore, the present Ministers of this country cannot govern Ireland. They cannot govern Ireland for England. I do not call corruption government. They have procured for British Government, neither character sufficient to command respect, nor revenue sufficient to pay the establishment: but then they have gotten other strength—they have gotten the support and good will of the nation. No,—the loss of the nation's good will is synonymous with the loss of reputation.

"The measures these men have pursued; the violent principles they have advanced, and the tone in which

they have spoken to this country, must have long lost them the opinion of the public. Before this country can have any confidence in them, she must lose all confidence in herself, and surrender all her tenets, maxims and principles on every constitutional and commercial subject. She must forget the Propositions. After an experience of years, your country, taking an impartial survey of all your offences; your country, perhaps, in the prodigality of mercy, may, if she pleases, forgive, but surely she can never trust you.

"The independent country gentlemen,—have you forgotten them? No, they can never support a Minister who practises extravagance, and professes corruption. Supporting such a Ministry, they would be country gentlemen no longer; they would be the servants of the Castle out of livery. They must see and despise the pitiful policy of buying the country gentlemen by an offer to wrap them up in the old cast-clothes of the aristocracy. A clumsy covering, and a thin disguise, never the object of your respect,—frequently the subject of your derision. The country gentleman must recollect how seldom he can procure even an audience from that bench, except when he deserts his cause and his country. Place him on his native hills, and he is a protection against the storm; restore him to the hot-bed of the Castle, and he degenerates."

Mr. Grattan's motion was very ably supported by the opposition, but was lost by 88 to 144.

On the 24th of July, Mr. Hartley* brought forward a motion respecting the police, "that it had laid a considerable charge upon the citizens, with-

* Member for the city of Dublin; a most worthy and public-spirited man, who always supported Mr. Grattan and his principles.

out affording them adequate protection, and tended to make the corporation dependent on the Government, and the magistrates less respectable in the eyes of the people."*

On the 26th of February, Mr. Forbes brought forward the Place Bill, which was strongly supported by Mr. Grattan; but on the division it was defeated by 143 to 96. It was on this occasion that Mr. Grattan was obliged to allude to the conduct of Lord Fitzgibbon. In a former debate the proceedings of Government, in the times of the Marquess of Buckingham and his sale of peerages, formed the subject of severe animadversions. Lord Fitzgibbon, in a most unparliamentary manner, took notice of this, quite contrary to the established rule, that the debates and proceedings in one House are not to form the subject of discussion or animadversion in the other; and he inveighed severely against the sentiments expressed by the members of the House of Commons. To this Mr. Grattan alluded in the following terms:—

"Sir, I cannot avoid observing that in this day's debate, gentlemen on the other side of the House have adopted

* A committee was granted to enquire into the police. Their report was unfavourable to it on the ground of extravagance and inefficiency. Among the items appeared the following: "For two inkstands for the police 5*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; three penknives for the commissioners 2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; gilt-edged paper 100*l.*; Chambers's Dictionary 11*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*" Among their books was Beccaria on Crime, with a Commentary from Voltaire. Such was the misapplication of public money!

a certain tone of power,—I presume in consequence of a very indecent and disorderly interposition on the part of one who does not belong to this House, though he has lately interfered with its proceedings. Sir, I am not uninformed to what length that person went within these walls, even during the debates of this House. It seems to me somewhat strange that gentlemen on the other side should dwell so much on the necessity of parliamentary decorum, when they have been evidently spirited up by an interposition, which in itself was the grossest violation of parliamentary decency. Sir, I have been told it was said that I should have been stopped—should have been expelled the Commons; should have been delivered up to the bar of the Lords for the expressions delivered that day. I will repeat what I said on that day. I said that his Majesty's Ministers had sold the peerages, for which offence they were impeachable. I said they had applied the money for the purpose of purchasing seats in the House of Commons for the servants or followers of the Castle, for which offence I said they were impeachable. I said they had done this,—not in one or two, but in several instances, for which complication of offences I said his Majesty's Ministers were impeachable—as public malefactors, who had conspired against the commonweal, the independency of Parliament, and the fundamental laws of the land; and I offered and dared them to put this matter in a course of enquiry. I added, that I considered them as public malefactors whom we were ready to bring to justice. I repeat these charges now; and if any thing more severe was on a former occasion expressed, I beg to be reminded of it, and I will again repeat it. Why do not you expel me now? Why not send me to the bar of the House of Lords? Where is your adviser? Going out of this House, I shall repeat my sentiments, that his Majesty's

Ministers are guilty of impeachable offences; and advancing to the bar of the Lords, I shall repeat those sentiments: or, if the Tower is to be my habitation, I will there meditate the impeachment of these Ministers, and return—not to capitulate, but to punish.

"Sir, I think I know myself well enough to say, that if called forth to suffer in a public cause, I shall go further than my prosecutors, both in virtue and in danger."

On the 3rd of March, Mr. Grattan brought forward a bill to prevent revenue officers from voting at elections for members to serve in Parliament. He succeeded so far as to get it into a committee; but it was ultimately lost by 123 to 81.

There was likewise a very important subject brought forward respecting the liberty of the press. In the courts of law there prevailed a practice of issuing writs for large sums of money in cases of slander; the party made affidavit that they had sustained damage to a certain amount, and the Court of King's Bench thereupon issued a fiat, in one case marked to the amount of 800*l.*, in a second 1,000*l.*, a third 2,000*l.*, and a fourth 4,000*l.* In consequence of this, Mr. Magee, proprietor of the Evening Post, being unable to procure bail, was incarcerated, and remained in jail for several months. Mr. Ponsonby brought this subject forward in Parliament. He declared this practice was most unconstitutional, and a direct violation of the Bill of Rights; that while Mr. Hastings, who was accused of plundering India,

murdering its inhabitants, and rendering the Government corrupt and odious, was only held to 10,000*l.* bail. In Ireland, an obscure printer, on a simple affidavit, was held to bail for 7,500*l.* He moved that issuing writs from courts of justice in actions of slander, where the damages could not be fairly ascertained, and holding persons to special bail in excessive sums thereon, was illegal and subversive of the liberty of the subject.

Unable to defend the practice of the King's Bench, the Attorney-general feebly opposed the motion, and merely moved that the Speaker do leave the chair. In justice to the lawyers it must be said that they did not very ably defend the conduct of the judges. Mr. Ponsonby called Mr. Wolfe a miserable Attorney-general, and a slave of the administration. The motion was lost by 125 to 91. Finally, however, the evil was remedied, and the practice abandoned.

On the 5th of March, Mr. Forbes brought forward his Pension Bill, but it was lost; the numbers being 124 to 96.

On the 6th, Mr. Curran moved an address to the King, setting forth the expenses of the country, complaining of the unconstitutional and increasing influence of the Government, and the improper distribution of place and honour. This was seconded by Mr. Ponsonby, but after the debate, which lasted until five o'clock on Sunday morning, it was lost by 90 to 141.

Mr. Forbes' Responsibility Bill was then proposed and lost; and on the 5th of April this short but animated session concluded, and the Parliament was dissolved on the 8th.

The object in dissolving Parliament so speedily was to frustrate any plans the Opposition might arrange in regard to the approaching elections, and to prevent the expression of public opinion on the conduct of the administration. The people, however, were not insensible to the merits of those who supported their cause. In the city of Dublin the most independent and respectable of the electors assembled and requested Lord Henry Fitzgerald (brother of the Duke of Leinster) and Mr. Grattan to suffer themselves to be put in nomination to represent the city. In their* reply

* To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

We have been called upon by a most numerous and respectable body of electors, to offer ourselves to your consideration, for the purpose of representing this city in the ensuing Parliament. With sincere thanks, we accept the invitation, and request your votes and interest at the next general election. We beg leave to assure you, that the advancement of the trade and prosperity of this country in general, and of this city in particular, shall be the principal object of our attention and exertions. But as general declarations of regard for the public welfare are more intelligible and effectual, when exemplified by specific measures, you will permit us to mention the following, as some of the objects, which, in all situations we shall pursue and support:—A Pension Bill; a Place Bill; a Bill for the Repeal of the present Police Act; and a Bill to render the Minister of the Crown in Ireland more effectually responsible to the Parliament of this realm.

We beg leave also to assure you, that we shall persist in our endea-

to this address these individuals specified the public measures which they intended to support, and which they had in previous sessions recommended to Parliament.

The Whig Club also took part in the public proceedings, and circulated a declaration * of their

vours to effect a discontinuance of the new and extraordinary charges placed on the establishment by a late administration, and justified and supported by the present; and also to obtain such other measures for this country as we have hitherto urged and supported in Parliament.

Conscious of the sincerity of these assurances, we now solicit your suffrages, and if, in the course of a personal application, we should, by any accident, omit to pay our respects to every elector, we trust that omission will be attributed to the real cause; the extent of this capital, and the discharge of our duty in Parliament.

We are, with the greatest respect and regard, gentlemen, your most humble, and most obedient servants, HENRY FITZGERALD.
HENRY GRATTAN.

* WHIG CLUB.

Dublin, 13*th April*, 1790.

At a meeting of the Whig Club, held this day, the following resolutions and declarations were unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved, that, whereas this society did form itself into a body, on certain public principles, and for public defence, at a time when attacks were made on public liberty, and doctrines advanced inconsistent with our free Constitution, and tending to deprive us of the blessings of the same; and whereas, from the proceedings of administration during the late session of Parliament, from the support by them given to the corrupt charges on our establishment, from the principles by them advanced in support of those corrupt charges, from the resistance by them given to every constitutional measure, tending to restrain the growth of expense and influence, from the sale of the honours of one House, to gain an unconstitutional and corrupt influence in the other, and from their notorious attempts to influence at this present time, the election of the people, we have every reason to be convinced that the same system is pursued, and the same designs are entertained.

Now we, in defence of our liberty, and for the fulfilling the objects of

opinions, and the objects they had in view, in which they state their apprehension that ministers meant to deprive the country of the blessings of her free constitution. The events which subsequently occurred have confirmed the justness of their views, and the foresight which enabled them so early to penetrate the designs of the Government.

The popular party succeeded in the city, and returned Lord Henry Fitzgerald and Mr. Grattan by a majority of 859 over Alderman Exshaw and

our former resolutions, do declare that we, notwithstanding the ill success attending the efforts of the minority in the late Parliament, will persevere ; that we will persist in the principles we have published, and in the measures which we have deemed necessary to carry these principles into execution, and particularly the following:—A Pension Bill; a Place Bill ; a Bill to repeal or modify the Dublin Police, and to restrain the arbitrary extent of the County Police, now depending on the will of the Minister ; a Bill for disqualifying certain descriptions of persons dependent on Government from voting for members to serve in Parliament ; a Bill for rendering the Ministers of the Crown responsible, and also such proceedings as may do away the late unnecessary charges on the establishment, already mentioned in our former resolutions. And whereas, in addition to the grievances in those resolutions recited, new injuries have since been inflicted, and the personal freedom of the subject, and the liberty of the press, have been infringed on, and the infringements screened from inquiry by the Ministers of the Crown, combining to cover by corrupt influence, arbitrary and illegal judgments : we do resolve to pursue such steps as may secure the subjects of this country against similar oppression.

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to correspond with such Whig Clubs, as are or may be hereafter established in this kingdom, for the purpose of promoting the princples of our institution.

Signed by Order,
Thomas Conolly, Sec.

Alderman Sankey, who opposed them under the patronage of the Government.* This triumph of independence, which was new to the city of Dublin, and which they had not witnessed since the days of Dr. Lucas, was celebrated with great rejoicings. The popular members were chaired with every demonstration of joy. The minor corporations and trades assembled and went in grand procession, exhibiting the insignia of their trades in the colours of their several guilds, and carrying the declaration of the public sentiments on highly ornamented and richly decorated banners. "*Fitzgerald and liberty*,"—"*Grattan and independence*," resounded through the capital; medals, ribbons, and flags, with these and similar mottos, were struck off on the occasion, and at night the city was splendidly illuminated in honour of the popular triumph.

Two other individuals, whose names appear in history, (but in a very different manner,) began their life at this period, and took their seats for the first time in parliament—*Arthur Wesley*† and Arthur O'Conor. Both commenced by supporting government. Arthur O'Conor seconded the address to the Earl of Westmoreland;

* The numbers were—

For Lord Henry Fitzgerald . .	1695
Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan .	1695
Lord Mayor (Exshaw) . .	836
Alderman Sankey . . .	776

† So the name was then spelled, but afterwards *Wellesley*.

Arthur Wesley was aide-de-camp at the castle, and supported shortly afterwards a similar address of praise to the same Lord-lieutenant.

One of the most remarkable elections which occurred at this time, was that of the county of Down, where Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh, set up on the popular interest, opposed to the Hillsborough family. The election lasted the unconscionable length of fifty-four days; there being no restriction then as to the time of the polling. This young aspirant to popularity took upon the hustings a variety of pledges—to promote a bill of reform in parliament; to exclude placemen and pensioners; to prevent revenue officers from voting at elections; to render the servants of the crown responsible for the expenditure of the public money; and to protect the subject against arbitrary and excessive bail and the unconstitutional power of attachment. Such were Mr. Stewart's promises; but a few years afterwards he turned a recreant; his pledges were forgotten; his promises broken; he professed a principle for an election, he abandoned it for an office. And this man, who began thus early so liberal a course, terminated his Irish career by destroying the parliamentary independence and extinguishing the constitution of his country. Dryden says:—

"Renegadoes who ne'er turn by halves,
Are bound in conscience to be double knav's."

The following was his address:—

TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF DOWN.

GENTLEMEN,—You have chosen me one of your representatives in Parliament, and to your partiality I am indebted for the highest distinction you can confer. I accept the trust with diffidence, not with exultation. My happiness would have been complete if the associate of my pursuits had been a partaker in my success. He preferred a manly adherence to the public cause we were embarked in, to an unprincipled competition with his friend; and to his firmness I owe an exclusive zealous support from him, the more honourable to his feelings, as it militated against the interests of his ambition.

I speak the language of my heart, when I declare, that I derive more real satisfaction and glory from the testimony of affection, zeal, and attachment, which I have received from the noble, the virtuous, and the independent, during the course of this arduous contest, than from the success with which it has been ultimately crowned. To talk to *you* then of *duty*, were to hold a language inadequate to my feelings! *I love the cause of the people. I revere the Constitution; and I will maintain and defend both, with that ardour of affection which a youthful heart dictates, and which your generous confidence demands.*

While I thus indulge in the natural expressions of gratitude and attachment, inspired by your goodness, I cannot refrain from paying a tribute of justice to the respectable character who presided during this tedious conflict. To say that he was impartial, would assign to his merit a description infinitely below his deserts. The influence of his attachments yielded to the impulse of his duty; and I discovered, in all his proceedings, in the most trying moments of party contest, the honour of a soldier, and the

dignity of a man. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your devoted and obliged servant,

ROBERT STEWART.*

Mount Pleasant, July 24, 1790.

* The numbers stood thus—

Lord Hillsborough . .	2984
Hon. Robt. Stewart . .	2793
Hon. E. Ward . . .	2591
Geo. Matthews . . .	1808

It is singular how these families began and ended their political career in Ireland. The Downshire family commenced strong with the court, and concluded with the people; the Stewarts began with the people, concluded with the court, and voted for the Union!

APPENDIX.

I.

A LIST OF THE DELEGATES (192) WHO COMPOSED THE NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1783.

Those Members who never took their seats in the Convention are in Italics.

Thus marked * were confined by illness, and could not attend their duty in the Convention.

Thus marked † opposed the plan of Reform in the Convention.

Thus marked ‡ appeared luke-warm in the Convention.

Thus marked ** relinquished their patronage of rotten boroughs for the public benefit.

Province of Ulster.

County of Antrim.

Right Hon. Col. John O'Neill,
Hon. Col. Rowley,
Lieut.-Col. Sharman,
Col. T. Morris Jones,
Captain Todd Jones.

County of the Town of Carrickfergus.

Rev. Mr. Bruce,
Mr. Henry Joy, junior.

County of Armagh.

General Earl of Charlemont,**
Colonel Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart.
Lieut.-Col. Right Hon. Wm. Brownlow,
Lieut.-Col. Sir Wm. Synnott,
Capt. James Dawson.

County of Derry.

Lord Bishop of Derry,
Colonel Right Hon. Thomas Conolly,
Captain Leckey,
Colonel Right Hon. Edward Carey,
Captain Ferguson.

County of Cavan.

Captain F. Saunderson,
Lord Farnham,†
General G. Montgomery,
Hon. J. J. Maxwell,
Capt. Henry Clements.

County of Down.

Colonel Right Hon. Robert Stewart,
Capt. Matthew Forde, junior.
Major Crawford,
Colonel Patrick Savage,
Captain Gawn Hamilton.

County of Fermanagh.

Colonel Irvine,
Col. Sir A. Brooke, Bart.
Captain A. C. Hamilton,
Jason Hazard, Esq.
Captain James Armstrong.

County of Donegal.

Colonel A. Montgomery,
Colonel John Hamilton,
Lieut.-Col. A. Stewart,
Col. Robert M'Clintock,
Lieut.-Col. Charles Nesbitt.

County of Monaghan.

Col. Char. Pow. Leslie,
Colonel Francis Lucas,
Colonel J. Montgomery,
Captain William Forster,
Captain James Hamilton.

County of Tyrone.

Colonel Stewart,
Lieut.-Col. Montgomery,
Col. James Alexander,
Lieut.-Col. Charleton,
Captain Eccles.

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

County of Galway.

Col. Perse,
Edmond Kirwan, Esq.
Peter D'Arcy, Esq.
Major Wm. Burke,
Col. Walter Lambert.

County of Leitrim.

Col. Latouche,
Col. Tenison,
Col. Peyton.
Col. Cullen,
Col. Crofton.

County of Mayo.

Col. Sir H. L. Blosse, Bart.
Col. Dom. G. Browne,
Valentine Blake, Esq.
Col. Edmond Jordan,
Col. Patrick Randell M'Donnell.

County of Roscommon.

Col. Arthur French,
Captain Edward Crofton,
Col. Maurice Mahon,
Col. Christopher Lyster
Counsellor Dennis Kelly.

County of Sligo.

Right Hon. Gen. Hen. King,
Right Hon. Joshua Cooper,
Col. O'Hara,†
Robert Lyons, Esq.
Major George Dodwell.

County of the Town of Galway.

Col. Flood,**
Counsellor Blossett,
Lieut.-Col. French,
Major Browne,
Counsellor Martin Kirwan.

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

County of Carlow.

Col. Bagenal,
Lieut.-Col. Sir Charles Burton, Bart.
Col. Rochfort,
Captain Stewart,
Rev. Mr. Ryan.

County of the City of Dublin.

Col. Sir Edward Newenham, Knt.
Lieut.-Col. Graydon,
Captain Warren,
Captain Cornwall,
Benjamin Wills, Esq.

County of Dublin.

Col. Sir J. A. Johnston, Bt.
Col. Sir J. S. Tynte, Bart.
Col. Joseph Deane,
Captain Baker,
Major Verschoyle.

County of the Town of Drogheda.

Col. Wm. Meade Ogle,
Col. H. M. Lyons.

Queen's County.

Col. John Warburton,
Col. Joseph Palmer,
Col. Luke Flood,
Col. Charles White,
Captain James Stephens.

County of Louth.

Lieut.-Col. Thomas Lee,
Major Wm. Sheil,
Captain Thomas Read,
Lieut. J. Wm. Foster,
Captain Zach. Maxwell.

County of Meath.

Col. Baron Dillon,
Captain Forbes,
Captain Trotter,
Captain Ruxton,
Captain Finlay.

County of Wicklow.

Col. Westby,
Col. Hayes,
Col. Nixon,
Col. Saunders,
Col. the Earl of Aldborough.**

County of Westmeath.

Hon. Col. Rochfort,
Captain Lyons,
Hon. Captain Moore,
Lieut.-Col. William Thomas Smyth,
*Col. Clibborn.**

County of Kildare.

John Wolfe, Esq.
Honourable John Bourke,
Richard Neville, Esq.
Maurice Keating, Esq.
Michael Aylmer, Esq.

County of Wexford.

General George Ogle,‡
Sir Vesey Colclough, Bt.**
Lord Viscount Valentia,
Richard Neville, Esq.
Colonel Hatton.‡

County of Longford.

R. L. Edgeworth, Esq.
Major Fox,
Major Sandys,*
Colonel Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Bart.
Colonel Nesbitt.

King's County.

General Sir William Parsons, Bart.
Colonel John Lloyd,
Colonel C. W. Bury,
Colonel Jonathan Darby,
Colonel James F. Rolleston.

County of Kilkenny.

Lieutenant-Colonel Knaresborough,
Major Wemyss,
Captain Helsham,
Captain Elliott,
Counsellor Lockington.

County of the City of Kilkenny.

Colonel Thomas Butler,
Lieutenant-Colonel Mossom.

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

County of Cork.

Right Hon. Lord Kingsborough,
Fr. Bernard, Esq.**
Colonel Roche,
Sir John Conw. Colthurst, Bt.
Major Thomas Fitzgerald.

County of the City of Cork.

Colonel Bousfield,
Colonel Bagwell,
Richard Moore, Esq.
Richard Fitton, Esq.
Colonel R. Longfield.

County of Clare.

Colonel Sir H. Dillon Massey, Bart.
Colonel Edward Fitzgerald,
Colonel Blood,
Major Stackpole,
Colonel Francis Macnamara.

County of Kerry.

General Sir Barry Denny, Bt.
Richard Townshend Herbert, Esq.
Colonel Gunn,
Robert Day, Esq.‡
Colonel Mahony.

County of Limerick.

Honourable Colonel Hugh Massey,**
Colonel Richard Bourke,
Colonel John Fitzgerald,
Major Powell,
Major Croker.

County of the City of Limerick.

Colonel Thomas Smyth,
Colonel Edmond H. Pery,
Colonel Prendergast,
*Major Hart,**
Henry D'Esterre, Esq.

County of Tipperary.

Thomas Hackett, Esq.
Colonel Daniel Toler,
Major Edward Moore,
Colonel Sir William Barker,
Captain Alleyn.

County of Waterford.

John Congreve, Esq.
Sir Richard Musgrave,
Thomas Christmas, Esq.
S. J. Newport, Esq.
John Kaine, Esq.

County of the City of Waterford.

Captain Rob. S. Carew,
Captain H. Alcock,
Captain Bolton,
Counsellor William Morris,
Captain Dobbyn.

II.

STATE OF THE BOROUGH-REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND, 1783.

County of Antrim

Contains 110,920 inhabitants, 3500 whereof are electors, with five boroughs, viz.:—

Antrim, contains 1500 inhabitants; the right of suffrage or return of members is vested in the Protestant inhabitants at large, commonly called potwalloppers, at present about 250. The Earl of Massareene proprietor of the soil.

Belfast, 15,000 inhabitants; the electors consist of a sovereign and 12 burgesses, 5 of whom are only resident. The Earl of Donegall patron.

Lisburn, 2,500 inhabitants; electors, the Protestant inhabitants at large, or potwalloppers, consisting of about 400. The Earl of Hertford proprietor of the soil.

Randalstown, 500 inhabitants; electors, the Protestant inhabitants at large, or potwalloppers, about 80. The Right Hon. John O'Neill proprietor of the soil.

County of the Town of Carrickfergus, 3225 inhabitants; electors, 900, being the freemen and freeholders; and most of the inhabitants are made free when at age. Proprietor of the soil the Earl of Donegall.

County of Armagh

Contains 84,000 inhabitants, 2,400 whereof are electors, with two boroughs, viz.

Armagh contains 515 families; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses. His Grace the Primate patron.

Charlemont contains 90 families; electors a portrieve and 12 burgesses. His Excellency General Earl Charlemont patron, who sacrificed his claim of patronage at the shrine of public freedom in Convention.

County of Carlow

Contains 34,176 inhabitants, and 2 boroughs, viz.

Carlow, about 4,000 inhabitants; electors a sovereign and 12 burgesses. William Burton, Esq. patron.

Old Leighlin; electors, a bailiff and 12 burgesses, all clergymen and non-residents. The Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns patron.

County of Cavan

Contains 68,000 inhabitants, 1,850 whereof are freeholders, with 2 boroughs, namely,

Belturbet contains about 500 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, very few of whom are residents. Lord Belmore patron.

N.B. This claim of patronage was lately purchased from the Earl of Lanesborough for 8,700*l.*, and at another sale is said to have brought 11,000*l.*

Cavan, 700 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign, 12 burgesses and honorary freemen, very few residents. The Clements and Nesbitts patrons.

County of Clare

Contains 66,000 inhabitants, 1,000 whereof are freeholders, and 848 polled at last election, with 1 borough, viz.

Ennis, about 7,000 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses. Patrons, Lord Conyngham and Sir Lucius O'Brien—a venal and rotten borough, having been sold in the last and present Parliaments.

County of Cork

Contains 250,000 inhabitants, near 3,000 whereof are freemen, with 11 boroughs, viz.

Youghall has a mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and freemen, most of the latter residing in Carbery, 60 miles from Youghall. No freemen have been latterly made. The mayor and majority of the burgesses who elect are under the influence of Lord Shannon.

Castle-Martyr, a very small town; electors, a portrieve and 12 burgesses, mostly non-residents. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Shannon.

Middleton, a very small town; electors, a portrieve and 12 burgesses, 7 whereof only are extant. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Viscount Middleton.

Rathcormuck, a very small town; electors, the Protestant

inhabitants at large, 7 whereof only voted on last election, except those resident in one street lying in its centre, which, by a former Parliament, was voted out of the town; but in defiance of which vote, the said street maintains its situation, though it could not its privileges.

Mallow; electors, the freeholders of the manor, containing about 2,000 acres, but most of the voters reside within the town; the property of the soil in various hands. Principal patrons, the Jephson family.

Doneraile; electors, the mesne freeholders of the manor, containing about 2,000 acres. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Doneraile.

Charleville, a large and populous town; but none of the inhabitants permitted to vote; electors were formerly a sovereign, 12 burgesses and freemen, but there are now only 5 burgesses in being, which constitute the voters. Patron was Earl of Cork, but the claim of patronage or nomination is said to have been lately sold to Lord Shannon.

Kinsale, a sea-port town; electors, a provost, 12 burgesses and freemen, most of whom reside in the province of Ulster—the patron being Lord Clifford.

Bandon-bridge, about 7,000 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign, 12 burgesses, 12 common council, and about 50 freemen. Patrons, the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Bernard, which latter sacrificed his claim at the altar of public freedom in Convention.

Cloghnakilty; electors, burgesses, and freemen, 5 whereof only voted at last election. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Shannon.

Baltimore, a very small poor town; electors, Protestant inhabitants at large, commonly called potwalloppers, being tenants at will, and the last election being a contested one, only 11 voted. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Sir John Freke, Bart. There was formerly a charter to this borough, which the late Sir John Freke destroyed.

County of the City of Cork, which, as to extent, is a circle, the diameter whereof is 6 miles, consequently the circumference

18 miles. The franchise of returning members to Parliament is vested in the freemen and freeholders. Every eldest son of a freeman is entitled to his freedom on attaining the age of 21 years. Every person who has served seven years to a freeman is also entitled. There is vested in a particular body of men, called the common-council, a right of originating all orders for making new freemen, but such order is not conclusive until approved of by the freemen in a Court of D'Oyer Hundred; however, the common-council evade this reference to a Court of D'Oyer Hundred, under colour of a bye-law, and claim a right, which they constantly exercise, of admitting to the freedom of the city, without the approbation of this court, every man who is an Esquire, by which mode of admission several persons, not resident, exercise the franchise of voting for members of Parliament.

The number of freemen and freeholders who voted on the last election were near 1,200, and the number of inhabitants are at least 100,000.

County of Donegall

Contains 66,720 inhabitants, 2,500 whereof are electors; and the following 5 boroughs :—

St. Johnston, 150 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, all non-residents. Patron, Lord Clonmore.

Lifford, 200 inhabitants; electors, a provost and twelve burgesses, all non-residents, except one, who is a publican. Patron, Lord Erne.

Donegall, 300 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, all non-residents, except one. Patron, Lord Arran.

Ballyshannon, 700 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, all non-residents, except one. Patron, Right Hon. Thomas Connolly.

Killybegs, 300 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, all non-residents. Patron, Right Hon. William Burton Conyngham.

County of Down

Contains 27,367 houses; its inhabitants, allowing 5 to each house, 136,835; electors at present registered, 6,000, but will

shortly increase very considerably. Has the following 6 boroughs :—

Bangor, about 500 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, mostly non-residents. Proprietors of the soil, Lord Bangor and Mr. Ward. Patrons, Lord Bangor and the Carrick family.

Downpatrick, 3,000 inhabitants; electors, the Protestant inhabitants at large, or potwalloppers, about 250. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Clifford.

Hillsborough, about 700 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Hillsborough.

Newry, inhabitants about 10,000; electors, the Protestant inhabitants at large, or potwalloppers, being between 600 and 700. The proprietors of the soil, Mr. Needham and Lord Hillsborough. The seneschal of the manor holds the election.

Killileagh, very few inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, mostly non-residents. Proprietors of the soil, Sir John Blackwood and Mr. Hamilton; patron, Sir John Blackwood.

Newtown-Ards, about 1,500 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses, all non-residents except the provost. Proprietors of the soil, Mr. Stewart; patron, Mr. Ponsonby.

County of the Town of Drogheda, a large and populous town; the electors are the freemen and freeholders, consisting of about 500;—a free town.

County of Dublin

Contains about 56,800 inhabitants, 1,200 of whom are freeholders, and the following boroughs.—N.B. The commissioners of the revenue have a very great share of influence in this county, on account of the many revenue officers they oblige to obtain freeholds.

Swords, governed by a portrieve, who is the returning officer; the electors, the Protestant inhabitants at large, or potwalloppers, about 160. The elections in this town afford scenes of the greatest corruption; the barony well inhabited by persons of independent properties, and Mr. Beresford's influence (a commissioner of the revenue) generally prevails.

Newcastle, a small town; electors, a portrieve and 12 burgesses, for the most part non-residents. The inhabitants have a right to make freemen, which is not exercised. Patron, J. Latouche, Esq. The barony well inhabited by persons of independent properties.

University of Dublin; electors, 70 scholars and 22 fellows, in all 92, who cannot be corrupted, even by the present provost.

Dublin, about 300,000 inhabitants; electors, the freemen and freeholders, about 4,000;—a free city. The board of 24 aldermen, who were in general very corrupt, have made several attempts to impose the members, but were successfully opposed by the spirit of the independent citizens.

County of Fermanagh

Contains about 30,000 inhabitants, 2,537 whereof polled as freeholders on last election; has but one borough, namely,

Inniskillen, inhabitants about 1,000; the corporation consists of 14 burgesses, a provost, a recorder, and an unlimited number of freemen, who have estates in themselves that go to repair the market-house, pave the streets, &c.; but these freemen are not permitted to vote; and only two of the burgesses and the provost reside in the town.

County of Galway

Contains 166,249 inhabitants, about 700 whereof are electors; and the three following boroughs:—

Tuam, 3,150 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses;—a venal and rotten borough under the patronage of Mr. Bingham.

Athenry, 380 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, 12 burgesses, the freemen and freeholders, but there are not now more than two freemen or freeholders, and but one of the burgesses is resident;—a very rotten borough, under the patronage of Mr. Blakeney.

County of the Town of Galway, 12,600 inhabitants; electors, the mayor, sheriffs, 101 burgesses, 40 freeholders, 295 freemen admitted by the mayor on the late election; also 130 under the charter of 29 Car. II., the new rules and the act

of 4 Geo. I., commonly known by the name of "The Galway Act Men." The influence of Denis Daly, of Dunsandle, and Denis Bowes Daly, Esq., has latterly became so great, as to give them a patronage over this town, which is in every other respect truly independent.

County of Kerry

Contains about 75,000 inhabitants, 1,000 whereof are electors, and the three following boroughs:—

Ardfert, a borough by prescription, not 100 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, 12 burgesses and honorary freemen, in all at present 18. The proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Glandore.

Dingle, an ancient borough by prescription, but accepted a charter from James I., 800 inhabitants; electors, under that charter, a sovereign, 12 burgesses and honorary freemen, in the whole at present 150, 2 of whom only are resident in the town, and not more than 10 in the country. The proprietor of the soil and patron, Mr. Townshend.

Tralee, about 1,200 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Sir Barry Denny, Bart.

N.B. This town never sent members to Parliament until it was incorporated by a charter of James I.

County of Kaldare

Contains 49,968 inhabitants, and the following four boroughs:—

Athy, 900 inhabitants; electors, a few burgesses and freemen. Under the influence of patron, Duke of Leinster.

Harristown, totally uninhabited; electors, a few burgesses and a returning officer, all of course, not residents. Patron, Duke of Leinster.

Kildare, 600 inhabitants; electors, 12 burgesses, a returning officer, and a few freemen, under the influence of patron, Duke of Leinster.

Naas, 1,100 inhabitants; electors, a few burgesses and freemen, under the influence of patron, Lord Mayo.

County of Kilkenny

Contains 86,574 inhabitants, 1,050 whereof are electors, and the following five boroughs :—

Thomastown, 1,000 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign, recorder, and 2 portrieves; the number of freemen or burgesses (if any) not known ;—a venal rotten borough, under the immediate influence of patron, Lord Clifden.

Gowran, 780 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, recorder, and town clerk; the number of freemen and burgesses (if any) not known ;—a venal rotten borough, under the influence of patron, Lord Clifden.

Innistioge, 500 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses. Patrons, representatives of William Tighe, Esq.

Knocktopher, 200 inhabitants; right of election in the Protestant inhabitants at large, or pot walloppers, but only *one* is allowed the privilege to vote. Patron, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart.

Callan, 1,500 inhabitants; electors cannot at present be ascertained, or the constitution of the borough, the patronage having been long in dispute between Henry Flood, Esq., and the family of the Agars.

County of the City of Kilkenny, 13,865 inhabitants; electors, by the old charter, consist of a mayor, 2 sheriffs, 18 aldermen, and the commons at large; but by a bye-law, the mayor, 2 sheriffs, 18 aldermen, and 36 of the commons, are constituted to do all corporate acts, whereby leading men, by undue influence over the majority of the above-mentioned number, and taking advantage of the said bye-law, have transferred the power of electing members to strangers and occasional freemen, there appearing on the book lists of freemen to the amount of *fourteen hundred*, of whom 200 only are residents and freeholders. This city also contains

St. Canice, alias *Irishtown;* 3,000 inhabitants; a borough by prescription. Property for the most part held under bishops' leases. Electors, a portrieve, 12 burgesses and freemen. The freeholders or inhabitants are not permitted to vote, and no burgesses or freemen are made but such as are nominated and approved of by patron, Bishop of Ossory.

King's County

Contains 48,000 inhabitants, 900 whereof are electors, and two boroughs.

Banagher; electors, a sovereign, 12 burgesses, and very few freemen, under the influence of—Proprietor of the soil and patron, Denis Bowes Daly, Esq.

Philipstown; electors, a sovereign, 12 burgesses, and a few freemen, who are made by the sovereign and burgesses. Proprietors of the soil, Lords Belvedere and Molesworth; patron, Lord Belvedere.

County of Leitrim

Contains 35,280 inhabitants, 1,076 whereof are electors, and the two following boroughs:—

Carrick-on-Shannon, 400 inhabitants; electors, 13 burgesses, all non-residents, and who supply their own vacancies. Proprietor of the soil, Col. St. George; patron, Lord Leitrim.

N.B. There were freemen by the charter, but none of whom are now extant.

Jamestown, a wretched depopulated village, formerly a town; electors, 13 burgesses, only one resident. Proprietor of the soil, Lord Mountrath; patrons, Gilbert King, of Charlestown, and John King, of Fosbane, County Roscommon, Esq.

County of Limerick

Contains 120,000 inhabitants, 1,500 whereof are electors, and the two following venal and rotten boroughs:—

Askeaton; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses. Patrons, Lord Carrick and the Hon. Hugh Massey, which latter sacrificed his private interest on the altar of public liberty, in the Convention.

Kilmallock; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses. Patron, Right Hon. Silver Oliver.

County of the City of Limerick, above 40,000 inhabitants; electors, the freeholders and freemen, amounting to many hundreds; the freemen are admitted by the mayor and common council, consisting of a great number of aldermen and burgesses.

County of Londonderry

Contains 99,000 inhabitants, and the following boroughs:—

Coleraine; electors, a mayor, 12 aldermen and 24 burgesses, all non-residents, save the mayor. Patrons, Earl of Tyrone, and Right Hon. Richard Jackson.

City of Londonderry; electors, 700, consisting of a mayor, aldermen, common council; and freemen, the latter mostly absentees, and made by corporation.

Newtown-Limavady, a venal and rotten borough; electors, 12 burgesses and a returning officer, all non-residents, under the direct influence of—Patron, Right Hon. Thomas Conolly.

County of Longford

Contains 40,000 inhabitants, 700 whereof are electors, and four boroughs.

Longford, electors, a sovereign, burgesses and freemen; the freedom nearly extinct, and burgesses non-residents; a venal borough, entirely at the disposal of—Patron, Lord Longford.

Lanesborough, electors, a few burgesses, mostly non-residents, a venal borough, under the control of—Patron, Mr. Dillon, of Clonbrook.

Granard, a manor, the electors, about 50 freemen and freeholders; a venal borough, under control of—Proprietors of the soil and patrons, Mr. Greville and Mrs. M'Cartney.

St. Johnstown, electors, the burgesses, all non-residents, and freemen, mostly decayed; a venal borough, at the absolute disposal of—Patron, Lord Granard.

County of Louth

Contains 46,446 inhabitants, and the following four boroughs:—

Dundalk, 5000 inhabitants; electors, 16 burgesses and 700 freemen, 100 whereof are disputed with Earl Clanbrassil, who claims the patronage by the remaining 616 electors, who are struggling for their withheld franchises.

Dunleer, 400 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, 12 burgesses and about 30 freemen, under the influence of—Patrons, Right Hon. John Foster, and Henry Coddington, Esq.

Ardee, 2500 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, 24 burgesses, and above 80 freemen and common council. This borough

often contested, but the patronage now pretty well established in John and Charles Ruxton, Esqrs.

Carlingford, 1200 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, 12 burgesses, and some freemen and common council, pretty similar to Ardee. Patrons, Robert Ross and Ross Moore, Esqrs.

County of Mayo

Contains 120,084 inhabitants, 1000 whereof are electors, and one borough.

Castlebar, 4230 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve and 12 burgesses, all non-residents. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Lucan.

County of Meath

Contains 46,900 inhabitants, 1200 whereof are electors, and 6 boroughs.

Trim, 2000 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign, 12 burgesses, and about 300 freemen, under the direct influence of—Patron, Lord Mornington.

Athboy, 1200 inhabitants; a manor town, the property of Lord Darnley; the tenants of the manor only have votes, and the Darnley family always appoint the returning officer; a venal borough, although Sir B. Chapman claims some share in the nomination.

Kells, 2500 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign, a few burgesses and freemen, the whole very small, under the immediate direction of—Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Bective.

Navan, 2500 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, 12 burgesses and 60 or 70 freemen, nine whereof only polled at last election. Patrons, Lord Ludlow and Mr. Preston of Ballinter.

Ratoath, 400 inhabitants; electors, freeholders of the manor. Patron and principal proprietor of the soil, Gorges Lowther, Esq.

Duleek, electors, a portrieve, burgesses, and freemen; in all not thirteen, and none of which reside in either that town or county; a venal rotten borough. Proprietor of the soil, Thomas Trotter, Esq.; but—Patron, Abel Ram, Esq.

County of Monaghan

Contains 99,225 inhabitants, a considerable number whereof are electors, and one borough.

Monaghan, 1975 inhabitants; electors, a provost who resides, and 12 burgesses, all non-residents; a venal borough. Patrons, Lord Clermont and Lady Blayney.

Queen's County

Contains 70,000 inhabitants, 1400 whereof are electors, and three boroughs.

Ballinakill, 1200 inhabitants; electors, 12 burgesses, two of whom are residents; there are also a few freemen still extant, who are entitled, but not permitted to vote. Proprietor of the soil, Lord Stanhope. Patron, Lord Drogheda.

Portarlington, 3000 inhabitants; electors, 12 burgesses, a returning officer, and about 50 freemen, mostly non-residents. Proprietor and patron, Lord Carlow.

Maryborough, 1200 inhabitants; electors, a mayor, two bailiffs, 12 burgesses, and about 350 freemen, mostly non-residents, and under the influence of—Patrons, the Rev. Dean Coote and Sir John Parnell, Bart.

County of Roscommon

Contains 40,000 inhabitants, and the three following boroughs:—

Boyle, inhabitants above 2000; electors, a burgomaster and 12 burgesses, mostly non-residents. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Kingston.

Roscommon, 350 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign, and 12 burgesses. Proprietors and patrons, Lord Maldon and Mrs. Walsingham.

Tulsk, 11 inhabitants; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses, all non-residents. Proprietor of the soil, Mr. Foxlane. Patroness, Mrs. Walcott.

County of Sligo

Contains 36,900 inhabitants, and one borough, namely,

Sligo, 7000 inhabitants; electors, a provost and 12 burgesses; a rotten and venal borough, under the sole direction of—Patron, Owen Wynne, Esq.

County of Tipperary

Contains 119,706 inhabitants, and three boroughs, namely,

Cashell, an ancient city; electors, a mayor, 17 aldermen, and between 70 and 80 freemen, all under the immediate control of—Patron, Mr. Pennefather.

Clonmell, a large and populous town; electors, a mayor, recorder, town-clerk, 19 burgesses, and 72 freemen, mostly non-residents. Patrons, Lord Mountcashell, and some of the Moores.

Fethard, electors, a returning officer, 12 burgesses, and 900 freemen, mostly non-residents. Patrons, Messrs. Barton and O'Callaghan.

County of Tyrone

Contains about 122,612 inhabitants, 3000 whereof are freeholders, and four boroughs, to wit,

Clogher, an ancient city; the right of election supposed to be vested in, and is claimed by the Protestant inhabitants at large; but the Bishop of Clogher claims a patronage, and by his influence and election manœuvres, always returns the members.

Dungannon, although the chosen seat of freedom, yet, as to the return for members to serve in Parliament, is a venal, corrupt, and rotten borough; the electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, nominated by—Patron, Lord Welles.

Strabane, electors, a provost, and 12 burgesses; a venal borough, governed by—Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Abercron.

Augher, electors, a provost and 12 burgesses. Patrons, Messrs. Moutray and Richardson.

County of Waterford

Contains about 52,000 inhabitants, 500 whereof are electors, and four boroughs.

Tallagh had a charter for a sovereign, recorder, and 24 burgesses, 10th James I., by which the liberties were extended a mile and a half round the church every way; the corporation is long gone into disuse, though it is by this charter the right of sending representatives is given. It is a manor, the electors potwalloppers, and before the decision of the House of Commons freeholders within the manor exercised right of suffrage; on the

last election, which was contested, 96 electors voted. The seneschal of the manor, appointed by the Duke of Devonshire, is a returning officer. Inhabitants above 1000. Supposed patron, Lord Shannon.

Lismore is a manor; number of electors supposed to be about 50, but not contested these very many years; right of election in potwalloppers and freeholders within the manor; number of inhabitants above 600. Seneschal of the manor appointed by the Duke of Devonshire is returning officer, and same man is seneschal for Lismore and Tallagh. Supposed patron, Duke of Devonshire.

Dungarvan is a manor; had a sovereign, recorder, and 12 burgesses, yearly chosen by charter, James I., but disused; right of election in potwalloppers and freeholders of the manor, in all about 120; number of inhabitants about 2000; the seneschal appointed by the Duke of Devonshire is returning officer. Supposed patron, Lord Tyrone.

County of the City of Waterford, 40,000 inhabitants; electors, 1000, being freemen and freeholders; one-half of whom are foreigners; their charter under Car. II.; the corporation, 17 aldermen, out of whom a mayor is chosen, and 23 assistants or common council, out of whom two sheriffs are chosen; the corporation exercises a power of making freemen at will: by the charter, all sons, sons-in-law, and apprentices of freemen, are entitled to their freedom, and the usage supports the charter. The liberties of the city extend in length about five miles, in breadth about four miles. A large part of the property of the soil is in the corporation, which sets for terms of 999 years.

County of Westmeath

Contains 70,350 inhabitants, 1120 whereof are electors, and four boroughs.

Athlone, a large town; electors, a sovereign, burgesses, and freemen, in all between 400 and 500, under the influence of—Patrons, Sir Richard St. George, and Dean Handcock.

Fore, a venal rotten borough; electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, under the absolute direction of—Patron, Lord Westmeath.

Kilbeggan, a venal rotten borough; electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, under command of—Patron, Charles Lambert, Esq.

Mullingar, a large town; electors, a seneschal, and freeholders of the manor—only one resident, and but 12 permitted to vote by—Patron, Lord Granard.

County of Wexford

Contains 77,628 inhabitants, a great number whereof are electors, and eight boroughs.

Bannow retains only the name, being totally uninhabited; the electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, nominated by—Patron, Mr. Loftus, the representative of Lord Ely.

Clonmines, a decayed and rotten borough; electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, all non-residents, being the same who are the electors for Bannow—Patron, Mr. Loftus.

Fethard, a venal, rotten borough; electors, a returning officer and 12 burgesses, all non-residents, being the same 13 men who return for Bannow and Clonmines; so that 13 domestics, or persons dependent on the will of Mr. Loftus, and nominated by him, depute six members to serve in Parliament from an opulent and respectable county, wherein they are not perhaps acquainted, or possess one shilling property. This must be a burlesque on all representation. Patron, Mr. Loftus.

Enniscorthy, 700 inhabitants; electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, only one resident. Patron, Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart., who sacrificed his interest therein on the altar of public freedom.

Gorey, electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses; a venal, corrupt, and rotten borough, under the direction of—Patron, Stephen Ram, Esq.

New Ross, a large town; electors, a returning officer, and 12 burgesses, with a right of making an unlimited number of freemen, but venal and rotten, under the influence of—Patrons, Mr. Leigh and Charles Tottenham, Esq.

Taghmon, a corrupt, venal, and rotten borough; electors, a returning officer and 12 burgesses, under command of—Patron, Mr. Hoare.

Wexford, a large and populous trading town; electors, a mayor, 2 bailiffs, 24 burgesses, and 800 or 900 freemen; ought to be a free town; but by manœuvring in the corporation, it is retained as a kind of rotten borough, under the influence of—Richard Neville, Esq., and a few others.

COUNTY OF WICKLOW

Contains 56,532 inhabitants, 900 whereof are electors, and four boroughs, namely,

Baltinglass, 960 inhabitants; electors, of whom are resident only three, a sovereign, recorder, town clerk, 12 burgesses, and an unlimited number of free commons, but at present do not exceed 20. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Aldborough, who, following the example of Lord Charlemont, Colonels Massey, Flood, Bernard, &c., nobly sacrificed his private interest at the shrine of public liberty.

Wicklow, a sea-port town, 800 inhabitants; electors, a portrieve, and 12 burgesses; there are also an indeterminate number of freemen, who are not permitted to vote. Patron, representatives of the late William Tighe, Esq.

Carysfort, gone entirely to ruin and decay; electors, a sovereign and 12 burgesses, all, of course, non-residents. Proprietor of the soil and patron, Lord Carysfort.

Blessington, 240 inhabitants, electors, a portrieve, 2 bailiffs, a register, and 12 burgesses, with power in them to make freemen, which they do not exercise beyond four or five, and all these electors are non-residents, except one or two; a corrupt, venal and rotten borough, at the absolute command of—Patron, Lord Hillsborough.

The Irish House of Commons consists of 300 members, viz.

32	Counties send up . . .	Knights	64
7	Cities ,, . . .	Citizens	14
1	University ,, .	Representatives	2
110	Boroughs ,, . . .	Burgesses	220
		Total	300

Out of which number the people return . . .	81
And the patrons, &c.	219
Total as above	300

III.

BRITISH ACT OF RENUNCIATION, 1783.

An Act for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his Majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged in any of his Majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain. Whereas, by an Act of the last session of this present Parliament, (intituled, an Act to repeal an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, intituled, an Act for the better securing the dependancy of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain,) it was enacted, that the said last-mentioned Act, and all matters and things therein contained, should be *repealed:* and whereas, doubts have arisen whether the provisions of the said Act are sufficient to secure to the people of Ireland the rights claimed by them, to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the Parliament of *that* kingdom in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in his Majesty's courts therein, finally, and without appeal from thence. Therefore, for *removing all doubts* respecting the same, may it please your Majesty that it may be declared and enacted, and be it declared and enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said right claimed by the *people* of *Ireland* to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the Parliament of *that* kingdom in *all* cases whatever; and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in his Majesty's courts therein, finally and without appeal from thence, shall be and is hereby declared to be *established** and *ascertained for ever* and *shall* at *no time*, *hereafter* be *questioned* or *questionable.*

* Lord Beauchamp moved that the word *recognised* be substituted for *established;* but Mr. (Lord) Grenville, was for keeping the latter, saying that the Irish people were satisfied with it.

IV.

THE ELEVEN IRISH PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED BY MR. ORDE TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT, FEBRUARY, 1795.

1. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is highly important to the great interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles not the produce or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland, should be imported into either kingdom from each other, reciprocally, under the same regulations; and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, produce, or manufacture: and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, shall be drawn back on exportation to the other.

3. That for the same purpose, it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

4. That in all cases when the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufactures of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other: and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom in which they

shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

5. That for the same purpose it is also proper, that in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material; and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.

6. That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufactures of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

7. That for the same purposes, it is necessary further that no prohibitions, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time upon corn, meal, flour, and biscuits; and also, except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms: in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.

8. That for the same purpose it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever shall be paid or payable in either kingdom on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as

relate to corn, meal, flour, or biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid: and that no bounty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British Plantations, or any manufacture made of such articles, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain.

9. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states, should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufactures of the other.

10. That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent as much as possible an accumulation of national debt: and that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenue of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expenses.

11. That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom, (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce, over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* in each year in peace, wherein the annual expense, and in each year in war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the Parliament of this kingdom shall direct."

List of those who voted on the BILL for the final adjustment of a commercial system between Great Britain and Ireland, Friday, August 12, 1785.

FOR.

Adderley, Thomas	Beresford, Rt. Hon. John
Annesley, Hon. Richard	Beresford, Marcus
Agar, Henry	Blaquiere, Rt. Hon. Sir John
Baillie, James	Bolton, Cornelius

Boyd, Robert
Browne, Sir John
Browne, Hon. James
Burdett, George
Burgh, Capt. Thos.
Cane, Hugh
Caulfield, William
Carroll, Ephraim
Chatterton, James
Coddington, Henry
Cunningham, Rt. Hon. Wm.
Cunningham, General
Coghlan, Thomas
Colville, William
Cotter, Sir James
Coppinger, Maurice
Chinnery, James
Chinnery, Broderick
Craddock, John
Daly, D. Bowes
Day, Robert
Dawson, Arthur
Dawson, Thomas
Delvin, Lord
Dunbar, George
Fitzgerald, James
Fitzgibbon, Rt. Hon. J.
Forward, Hon. Wm.
Foster, W.
Foster, Rt. Hon. John
Foster, J. W.
French, Frederick
Gahan, Daniel
Gardiner, Rt. Hon. Luke
Godfrey, Sir William
Gore, Henry
Gore, John
Green, Godfrey
Hamilton, Sir John S.
Hamilton, Sackville
Hayes, Samuel
Hayes, St. Leger
Hewitt, Hon. Joseph
Headford, Lord
Hill, Sir Hugh
Hoare, Sir Joseph
Hobson, John
Holmes, Peter
Hobart, Robert
Howard, Hugh
Howard, Hon. Robt.
Hutchinson, Rt. Hon. J. H.
Hutchinson, Richard
Jephson, Denham
Jephson, Robert
Jocelyn, Hon. George
Jocelyn, Lord
Johnston, Sir Richard
Jones, Hon. Theophilus
King, Edward
Kilwarden, Lord
Knox, Hon. Thos.
Langrishe, Sir Hercules
Langrishe, Robert
Lawless, Sir Nicholas
Loftus, Henry
Lutterel, Lord
McClintock, John
Magennis, Richard
Mason, John Monk
May, Sir James
Meredyth, Henry
Metge, John
Molyneux, G. W.

Montgomery, William
Montgomery, Sir William
Moore, John
Moore, Lorenzo
Moore, Stephen
Morris, Lodge
Morris, Sir William
Musgrave, Sir Richard
Nesbitt, Thomas
O'Brien, Sir Lucius
O'Flaherty, John
Ogle, Right Hon. Geo.
O'Neill, Charles
Orde, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Parnell, Sir John
Pennefather,
Pigott, Col. Thomas
Pomeroy, John
Pomeroy, Hon. Henry
Ponsonby, George
Ponsonby, Rt. Hon. John
Ponsonby, James Caregue
Pole, Hon. Wellesley
Price, Crom.
Rawson, George
Reilly, John
Roche, Sir Boyle
Ross, Robert
Rothe, George
Rowley, Clotworthy
Sheridan, Charles Francis
Smith, Sir Skeffington
St. Leger, Hayes
St. George, Lieut.-Col. Richd.
Stewart, Henry
Sudley, Lord
Swan, Edward B.
Tighe, Edward
Toler, John
Townshend, John
Tydd, John
Uniacke, James
Uniacke, Robert
Walshe, Patrick
Warren, Nathaniel
Wilson,
Wolfe, Arthur
Wynne, Owen

AGAINST.

Acheson, Hon. Arthur
Alcock, Henry
Alexander, James
Archdall, Mervyn
Armstrong, John
Aylmer, Sir Fitzgerald
Barton, John
Bernard, James
Blackwood, Robert
Brooke, Henry V.
Brownlow, Rt. Hon. Wm.
Browne, Arthur
Bruen, Henry
Burgh, Thomas (Old Town)
Burton, William
Butler, Sir Richard
Caldwell, Andrew
Cavendish, Sir Henry
Carew, Robert
Corry, Isaac
Conolly, Thomas
Cope, Henry
Creighton, Hon. Abraham
Crofton, Sir Edward

Cromie, Sir Michael
Cuff, Hon. William
Curran, John Philpot
Daly, Anthony
Denny, Sir Barry
Devereux, Charles
Digby, Simon
Dillon, Robert
Dobbs, C. Richard
Doyle, John
Dunne, John
Fitzgerald, Lord Charles
Fitzgerald, Lord Edward
Fitzgerald, Edward
Fitzgerald, Lord Henry
Flood, Henry
Forbes, Arthur
Forbes, John
French, Arthur
Grattan, Rt. Hon. Henry
Griffith, Richard
Hamilton, A. C.
Handcock, William
Hardy, Francis
Harman, Harman
Hatch, John
Hartley, Travers
Hartstonge, Sir Henry
Hayes, T. (Strabane)
Heatly, Conway
Herbert, Richd. Townsend
Hunt, Edward
Hussey, Dudley
Hutchinson, Sir Francis
Jones, William Todd
Johnston, Sir John Allen
Kearney, James
Kingsborough, Lord
Latouche, John
Latouche, Peter
Leslie, Chas. Powell
Lloyd, John
Longfield, Richard
Lowther, George
Massey, Hon. Hugh
Massey, Sir H. Dillon
Montgomery, Alexander
Montgomery, John
Montgomery, Nathaniel
Neville, Richard
Newenham, Sir Edward
O'Hara, Charles
Ogilvie, William
Ogle, Henry Meade
O'Neill, Rt. Hon. John
Pakenham, Hon. Thomas
Parsons, Lawrence
Preston, John
Preston, Joseph
Prittie, Henry
Ram, Abel
Ram, Andrew
Richardson, John
Richardson, William
Rochford, Hon. Robert
Rowley, Rt. Hon. H. Langford
Rowley, Hon. Hercules
Ruxton, William
Sandford, George
Sharman, William
Smyth, Michael
Smith, William
Stewart, Charles
Stewart, James

Stewart, Sir Annesley	Usher, John
St. George, Sir Richard	Ward, Hon. Edward
Stratford, Hon. John	Warren, Augustus
Taylor, Hon. Captain	Westby, Nicholas
Toler, Daniel	Whaley, Richard
Trench, W. P. K.	Wolfe, John

Of the county members who opposed this bill, there were 45; those who were ill or absent, and against it, there were 4, making 49. For introducing the bill, there were only 10 county members; doubtful and absent 3, making but 13; of which number 9 were placemen, and 2 the sons of placemen; so that it might be said, there were only 2 independent county members out of the entire number of 64 who supported it; A very strong argument for Parliamentary Reform.

V.

THE TWENTY PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT BY MR. PITT, MAY, 1785.

1. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. That it is consistent with the essential interests of the manufactures, revenues, commerce, and navigation of Great Britain, that a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision equally permanent and secure should be made by the Parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expenses, in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interest of the empire.

3. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, except those of the

growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters, not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other; but nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue in the kingdom, to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards.

4. That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland, and therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, such laws imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, should be in force in Ireland by laws to be passed by the Parliament of that kingdom for the same time, and in the same manner as in Great Britain.

5. That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America, or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should on importation be subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to upon importation into Great Britain,

or if prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, shall be prohibited in like manner from being imported into Ireland.

6. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, under the same regulation with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

7. That for the like purpose it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India Islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate, shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate properly endorsed, as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder if shipped within a time to be limited, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

8. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, that so long as the Parliament of this kingdom shall think it adviseable, that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan, shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries, shall be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain; except dye-stuffs, cotton, or other wool and spiceries, which may be imported into Ireland from foreign European countries, so long as the same are importable from foreign European countries into Great Britain; and that it shall be lawful to export such goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan, from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom, but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained and not drawn back on the said goods exported to Ireland, and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the Receiver-General of His Majesty's customs in Great Britain, to the proper officer of the revenue of Ireland, to be placed to the account of His Majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the Parliament of that kingdom; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom; and that no ships be allowed to clear out from Ireland for any of the said countries, but such ships as shall be freighted by the said company, and which shall have sailed from the port of London; and that whenever the commerce to the said country shall cease to be carried on solely by such an exclusive company, the goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straits of Magellan, should be importable into Ireland from the same countries from which they may be importable into Great Britain, and no other.

10. That no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such as either kingdom may judge expedient from time to time upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and except such qualified prohibitions at present contained in any act of the British or Irish Parliaments, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the package, or other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and dimensions of the ships importing the same; and also except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war importable only by virtue of His Majesty's licenses; and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, or an internal bounty in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient from time to time upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

11. That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to an amount not exceeding the amount payable in the other, so that the same shall not be less than ten and a half per centum, or where any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland of ten and a half per centum, or upwards, on the 17th day of May, 1782; and that all such articles shall be exported from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duties as the same kingdom.

12. That it is also proper that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the

manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland, as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the raw material of any manufacture in either kingdom, less than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or equal to such duty, such manufacture may, on its importation into the other kingdom, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to burthens adequate to those which the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and that the said manufacture so imported shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture.

13. That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, or in consequence of bounties remaining on such article when exported from the other kingdom.

14. That for the same purpose it is necessary farther, that no new prohibition or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce or manufacture, from the one kingdom to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

15. That for the same purpose it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of

drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounties should be payable in Ireland on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain; and that where any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.

16. That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign countries should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except in the case of materials or manufacture which are or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free; and that in all cases where any articles are or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America than the like goods are or may be subject to when imported as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.

17. That it is expedient that such privileges of printing and vending books, as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the Crown or otherwise, and the copyrights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain,

should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the Parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to similar rights and privileges in that kingdom.

18. That it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions therein granted and contained shall be of equal force and duration, throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

19. That it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coasts of any part of the British dominions.

20. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the Parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying in time of peace the necessary expenses of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

VI.

THE BRITISH ACT OF TRADE BETWEEN IRELAND, THE COLONIES, AND AMERICA.

An Act to allow the trade between Ireland and the British Colonies, and plantations in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to be carried on in like manner as it is now carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements, 1779.

Whereas by an Act of Parliament, made in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, (intituled, an Act for the

encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation), it is, among other things, enacted, that, for every ship or vessel which shall load any commodities, in that Act particularly enumerated, at any English plantation in America, Asia, or Africa, being the growth, product, or manufacture thereof, bond shall be given, with due surety, to the value of one thousand pounds, if the ship be of less burthen than one hundred tons, and of the sum of two thousand pounds, if the ship be of greater burthen; that the same commodities shall be brought by such ship or vessel to some other English plantation, or to some port in England or Ireland, or principality of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed: and whereas, by another Act of Parliament, made in the twenty-second and twenty-third years of the reign of King Charles the Second, (intituled, an Act to prevent the planting of Tobacco in England, and for regulating the plantation trade), it was, amongst other things, enacted, that the word Ireland should be left out of all such bonds: and whereas, by several subsequent Acts of Parliament, made in this kingdom, which are now in force, the said enumerated commodities, and several other articles which are particularly enumerated in such subsequent Acts are to be carried to some other British plantation, or in some port in Great Britain only: and whereas, by another Act of Parliament, made in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, (intituled, an Act for the encouragement of Trade,) no commodity of this growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, (excepting some particular articles which are enumerated in that Act, and in other subsequent Acts of Parliament which are now in force,) can be imported into any land, island, plantation, colony, territory, or place, belonging to, or in the possession of his Majesty, in Asia, Africa, or America, but what shall be bona fide, and without fraud, laden and shipped in Great Britain, in ships navigated according to law, and carried directly from thence, and from no other place or places whatsoever: and whereas, by another Act of Parliament, made in the fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, (intituled, an Act for granting certain duties in the British Colonies and plantations in America; for continuing

and amending, and making perpetual, an Act passed in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, (intituled, an Act for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America;) for supplying the produce of such duties, and of the duties to arise by virtue of the said Act, towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said colonies and plantations; for explaining an Act made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, (intituled, an Act for the encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland trades, and for the better securing the plantation trade); and for altering and disallowing several drawbacks on exports from this kingdom, and more effectually preventing the clandestine conveyance of goods to and from the said colonies and plantations, and improving and securing the trade between the same and Great Britain); it is amongst other things enacted, that any officer of the customs may stop any British vessel arriving from any port of Europe, which shall be discovered within two leagues of the shore of the British colonies in America, and take from thence and seize, as forfeited, any goods (except salt, wines, horses, victuals, and linen cloth, as therein particularly mentioned), for which the master shall not produce a docquet or clearance from the collector or proper officer of his Majesty's customs, certifying that the said goods were laden on board the said ship or vessel in some port of Great Britain: and whereas, by another Act of Parliament, made in the seventh year of the reign of King George the First, (intituled, an Act for the further preventing his Majesty's subjects from trading to the East Indies under foreign commissions; and for encouraging and further securing the lawful trade thereto; and for further regulating the pilots of Dover, Deal, and the Isle of Thanet), it is amongst other things enacted, that no commodity of the growth, product, or manufacture of the East Indies, and other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, shall be imported or carried into any land, island, plantation, colony, territory, or place, to his Majesty or the Crown of Great Britain, belonging or which should hereafter belong to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in Africa

or America, but such only as shall be bonâ fide, and without fraud, laden and shipped in Great Britain, in ships navigated according to law: and whereas, it is expedient to allow the trade between Ireland and the British Colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to be carried on in like manner, and with equal advantages to his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, as it is now carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements; may it therefore please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that any goods, wares, or merchandize, of the growth, product, or manufacture of the British Colonies or plantations in America, or the West Indies, or of any of the settlements belonging to Great Britain on the coast of Africa, and which by any Act or Acts of Parliament, are required to be imported from such colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Great Britain; and also any other goods, which having been in any way legally imported into the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, may now or hereafter be legally exported from thence for Great Britain, shall and may be laden in, and exported from such colonies, plantations, or settlements, respectively, and in like manner imported directly from thence into the kingdom of Ireland; and that any goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of Ireland, or of the growth, production, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally exported from thence into Ireland, or of the growth, production, or manufacture of any other part of Europe; and any goods or commodities of the growth, product, or manufacture of the East Indies, or other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which are now required by any Act of Parliament to be shipped or laden in Great Britain, to be carried directly from thence to any British Colony or plantation in Africa or America; as also any other goods, wares, or merchandize, which now or hereafter may be legally shipped or laden in Great Britain, to be carried directly from thence, and imported into any colony or plantation

in America or the West Indies, or into any British settlement on the coast of Africa; shall and may be shipped and laden at any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland, and exported directly from thence, and in like manner imported into any British Colony or plantation in America or the West Indies, or into any British settlement on the coast of Africa; anything in the said herein before recited Acts, or either of them, or any other Act or Acts of Parliament made in Great Britain, or any usage or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding; subject nevertheless to the conditions herein after expressed.

Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the importation and exportation allowed by this Act shall commence from and as soon, and shall have continuance so long, and in such respective cases only, as the goods, or any of them, which are hereby allowed to be imported from the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Ireland, or to be exported from Ireland into the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, shall be liable, by some Act or Acts of Parliament to be made in the kingdom of Ireland, to equal duties and drawbacks, and shall be made subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, in all other respects, as the like goods now are, or hereafter may be, liable and subject to upon being imported from the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Great Britain, or exported from thence to such colonies, plantations, or settlements respectively; in the consideration of which equal duties and drawbacks, due attention may be given to, and allowance made for any duty or imposition, or any part of the same, which shall be retained in Great Britain, or not drawn back, or not compensated by bounty in Great Britain, upon the export of any such goods, wares, or merchandize, from thence to Ireland, as also for any duty paid on importation of such goods, wares, or merchandize respectively, be not exported from Ireland with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than now do, or hereafter shall, remain upon the like goods when legally exported from Great Britain.

And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, during the continuance of this Act, so much of the herein-

before recited Act, made in the twenty-second and twenty-third years of the reign of King Charles the Second, as directs or requires the word Ireland to be left out of any bond taken for any ship or vessel that shall load any enumerated commodities in any British plantation in America, Asia, or Africa, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed and made void; any thing in the said recited Act, or any other Act or Acts of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that so much of the Act of the fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, as herein-before mentioned, shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to subject to seizure and forfeiture, any goods, wares, or merchandize, which by this Act, or by any other Act or Acts of Parliament, may now, or hereafter, be legally imported from Ireland into any of the British colonies or plantations in America, or any British settlement on the coast of Africa; provided the master, or other person taking the charge of the ship or vessel carrying such goods, shall produce a docquet or docquets, clearance or clearances, from the proper officer or officers of his Majesty's customs, certifying that the said goods were laden on board the said ship or vessel in some port of Great Britain, or of some port of Ireland respectively.

Provided also, and it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if it shall so happen that any additional duty shall be imposed, or any alteration shall be made in the drawbacks, or otherwise, upon any goods so as aforesaid imported into, or exported from Great Britain, by any Act of Parliament that may hereafter be made in this kingdom at any time when the Parliament of Ireland shall not be sitting; that then and in such case the liberty of importation and exportation, granted by this act, shall have continuance, and remain in full force, with respect to such goods, until the end of four calendar months after the meeting of the then next session of Parliament in Ireland; but if the Parliament of Ireland shall be sitting at the time that any such additional duty shall be imposed, or any such alteration shall be made in Great Britain,

then, and in such case, the liberty of importation and exportation granted by this Act shall have continuance, and remain in full force, upon such goods as aforesaid, until the end of four calendar months from the time that such additional duty shall be laid, or such alteration made, in case the Parliament of Ireland shall so long continue to sit without prorogation or dissolution; and in case it shall within that time be prorogued or dissolved, then the liberty of importation and exportation aforesaid shall have continuance, and remain in full force, until the end of four calendar months next after the meeting of the then next session of Parliament in Ireland.

Provided always, and be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that nothing hereinbefore contained shall extend to, or be construed to extend to, the imposing any condition or restriction upon us in respect of any goods, wares, or merchandize, which by an Act passed in the eighteenth year of His present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act to permit the exportation of certain goods directly from Ireland into any British plantation in America, or any British settlement on the coast of Africa; and for further encouraging the fisheries and navigation of Ireland; or which by any other act or acts of Parliament may now be legally exported from Ireland to any of the British colonies or plantations in America and the West Indies, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or which may now be legally imported into Ireland from any of the colonies, plantations, or settlements aforesaid; anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Provided also, and it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to allow any person or persons to trade to, from, or in, any colony or plantation in America, during such time, and in such manner, as the trade or intercourse of Great Britain with such colony or plantation is or shall be prohibited or restrained by any act or acts of Parliament made or hereafter to be made in this kingdom; but whenever trade and intercourse shall be permitted between Great Britain and such colony or colonies, the same trade and intercourse shall in like manner be permitted and allowed between Ireland and the said colony or colonies.

VII.

THE SONGS OF "LOVE IN A VILLAGE," WITH ADDITIONAL SONGS; AS THEY WERE PERFORMED AT THE FANCY BALL IN THE CASTLE OF DUBLIN, ON ST. PATRICK'S NIGHT, BY A SELECT GROUP. 1789.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Marquess .....Buckingham.
Arch-Mitre ....Abp. of Cashel.
First Gutter....Mr. Isaac Corry.
Second Gutter..Counsellor Day.
Ld. Double Gutter..Lord Wells.
First Runner ..Major Hobart
Second Runner..Hon. T. Pakenham.
First Serjeant ..——Fitzgerald.
Second Serjeant ——Toler.
Speaker.....John Foster.
Trimmer .....Mr. G. Sandford.
First Hireling..Mr. Hayes.
Second Hireling..Mr. S. Moore of the Baln.
Third Hireling ..Lord Delvin.
Fourth Hireling..Rt. Hon. Mr. Beresford.
Fifth Hireling ..Lord Jocelyn.
1st Ld. in Waiting..Rt. Hon. Mr. Gardiner.
2nd Ld. in Waiting..Sir N. Lawless.
Expectant Lords{Sir James Brown, Mr. Longford, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Harman, &c.

Hibernia, Robins, Masques, &c.

ACT I.

SCENE I.—*Two Courtiers in expectation.*

FIRST COURTIER.

*HOPE! the courtier's first desire,—
Airy promiser of place!
Dreams of future wealth inspire,
Softest soother of disgrace!

SECOND COURTIER.

Places, Marquess! promise still,
Grant reversions for the rest;
With thy bribes our pockets fill,
And with titles make us blest!

* Said to be written by Sir Robert Langrishe.

SCENE II.—*A great number of secretaries and clerks without pay, computing.—The* MARQUESS *reading a letter.*

(To be sung or stuttered.)

Pi-Pi-Pitt, say no more,
Sure you told me before,
I know the full length of my tether—
Te-tether;

Not a man in the house
That I value a louse,—
I can bribe them and bilk them together—
Ge-gether.

I think a few lies
Will always suffice
To get them, if Grattan don't mar it—
Ma-mar it;

But as for the pelf,
I so love it myself,
To their beef I'll not give them a carrot—
Ca-carrot.

Scene changes to the House of Commons corridor—RUNNERS *and* ROBINS.

FIRST RUNNER.*

Though I had been by birth decreed
Too noble for a hack;
Yet Buckingham's † vile nets I spread
To lure the Robins back.
What joy, what triumph should I gain,
If you with us would vote!
Still are my bribes and threats in vain!—
Sweet Robin! change your note!

FIRST ROBIN in reply.

Do you think I inherit
So slavish a spirit,

* Major Hobart. † Lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the period of the Regency.

As e'er to submit to this log?
Now fondled—now chid—
Permitted—forbid—
I'll surely kick out the proud dog!
Away, then, poor Hobart!
There's nought in your cupboard
Can make me from honour depart;
I despise such as thee,
And hope soon to see
Your master and you in the cart.

SECOND ROBIN.

* Cease, Hobart,† disingenuous youth!
Thy pride in being a hack;
Thy glory in corrupting truth,
Or winning wretches back!

Leave Todd, or Lees, or Cooke‡ the cares,
Buck's poison to instil;
For, though thy soul's as mean as theirs,
Thou hast not yet their skill.

ARCH-MITRE.§

Young I am, and sore afraid,—
Would you hurt a harmless lad?
Lead an innocent astray?—
Tempt me not, kind Runner, pray!

Buckingham should I believe,
And, as usual, he deceive;
If I change, and he forsake,
Sure my tender heart would break.

SECOND RUNNER.‖

Zounds! neighbour, ne'er stand for a trifle like this!
Try the Marquess this time, and Armagh you can't miss.

* Said to be written by Sir Robert Langrishe. † Chief secretary in Ireland.
‡ Appointed under-secretary at war.
§ Agar, Archbishop of Cashel (afterwards Dublin.)
‖ Hon. Thomas Pakenham.

The gravest old canter, a truce with grimace,
Would do the same thing, could he get the same place.

No age, no profession, no station is free;
To corruption, old Pery himself bends the knee.
That power, resistless, no strength can oppose;
We all take a pretty bribe, under the rose.

SECOND GUTTER, *Solo.*

Still in hopes to get the better
Of round robin's chain I try—
Under it this moment shelter,
And the next my oath deny.

Now prepared to scorn each offer,
Sep'rate terms, and pardon brave;
Then, relapsing, catch the proffer,
And confess myself a slave.

TWO SERJEANTS, *a Duett.*

(*Tune*—"The Traveller Benighted.")

FIRST SERJEANT.*

Dear Serjeant, though benighted,
And lost in black despair,
Now that the post's alighted,
Let us our side declare.

SECOND SERJEANT.†

How lucky, we absconded
Before the news was known;
We might perhaps be bonded
To serve a barren throne.

FIRST SERJEANT.

But since the King is better,
The Prince must now decline:
(I saw Kilwarlin's letter)
No Regent he of mine.

* Fitzgerald, created prime sergeant. † Toler (afterwards Lord Norbury.)

SECOND SERJEANT.

As ev'ry packet brings
(Heav'n save him, for our sake!)
Health of the best of kings,
Wolfe, you, and I will speak.

Scene changes to the House of Commons.—HIBERNIA *enthroned sings*—

My King's my own, my will is free,
And so shall be my voice;
No regent e'er shall reign o'er me
Till first he's made my choice.

Let Fitz* assert that England's laws
Our Regent must obey;
Grattan has still a saving clause
Against tyrannic sway.

SPEAKER.†

Believe me, dear Larry,
To rail thus at Harry‡
Will sound at the Castle most rare;
Be stout in reply,
And give him the lie,
You're sure to be back'd by the chair.

How happy the blow
That should lay Grattan low,
Our party to put out of pain!
Then my jobs I'll pursue,
Get a pension for you,
And Flood bring amongst us again.

But, Larry, take care,
Lest I forfeit my chair
If too warmly your cause I espouse;
For, should the King die,
Or a viceroy look shy,
Scarce a friend shall I find in the House.

* Fitzgibbon, attorney-general. † Rt. Hon. John Foster.
‡ Henry Grattan.

FIRST GUTTER.*

Gentle Prince! ah, tell me why
Thus you scorn, and bid me fly!
I'm the friend will persevere,
Yet to Bucks I lend an ear,
Serve him for my private end,
And take a place from foe or friend.

THIRD ROBIN.

There was a mulish Marquess once
Lived in the castle yard,
He jobb'd and scraped, from morn till night,
No scriv'ner work'd so hard;
Yet this the burden of his song
For ever now must be,—
"I care for nobody, no, not I,
For nobody cares for me!"

Full Chorus of Lords and Commons.

Pitt ne'er was so out, such a Viceroy to fix on—
Zounds! Bucks, don't provoke us, but mind what we say!
You've chose a wrong nation for playing your tricks on,
So, pack up your alls, and be trudging away.
You'd better be quiet,
And not breed a riot,
Nor keep us here censuring you ev'ry day.
We've got other matters to mind,—
The Money Bills yet are to pass;
For if you stay longer, you'll find
We'll make you sneak off like an ass.

ACT II.

SCENE I.—*Presence Chamber at the Castle.*

MARQUESS *solus*.

Let the good and the great,
Make the most of their fate,

* Isaac Corry, appointed one of the Commissioners of Revenue.

From places to principle hurry :
Well, who cares a jot ?
I value them not,
Whilst I have whole Cooke and half Corry.

For counsel I'll fly
From Fitzgibbon too high,
To Th-r-t-n, Hobart, and Cooke ;
But to soften my cares
And forget state affairs,
I'll laugh with Brown,* Lawless† and Luke.‡

Second Runner.§

Since Leinster's deserted no further I'll seek,
But go off to Wales in the packet next week ;
A service in London will soften disgrace,
And a seat at the Admiralty not a bad place.

Lord Townshend went there, he soon met with a friend—
And Woolwich repair'd the disgrace of Rings-end ;
Then why should I stay, and rash counsel pursue,
To injure myself, and my friends to undo ?

SCENE II.—*The Castle staircase.*

TRIMMER, *singing.*

Since the King 's quite recover'd, and grown a sound man,
Pray, why shouldn't I get a sop in my pan ?
Tom Packenham, or Hobart can get me a place,
Oh ! how fine, set in gold, looks his Majesty's face.
Bally no mona ohro.

They found out Tom Nesbit, and settled his mind ;
Though at first he seem'd wavering, they soon make him kind ;
Then why should not I the same trimming pursue,
And better my fortune as other rats do ?
Bally no mona ohro.

* Afterwards Lord Kilmaine.
† Afterwards Lord Cloncurry.
‡ Afterwards Lord Montjoy.
§ Hon. T. Pakenham.

Folding doors open and discover the Levee Room, with Hacks, Trimmers, Runners, &c., who advance singing this chorus.

Ye runners and ratcatchers, hither repair,
What votes you may want, you will find at our fair;
Here trimmers of all sorts of conscience there be,
And as for our wages, we'll try to agree.

First Hireling.*

I pray ye gentles list to me,
Though I a patriot seem to be,
I will turn tail with any he,
For work that's in the country.
My promises to Tighe I'll break,
I'll customs, stamps, or barracks take,
And more can do than here I'll speak,
Depending on your bounty.

Second Hireling.†

'Tis I am the lad, with a true courtier's heart,
Who will stick to my friends, 'till their doom'd to the cart;
To the gallows I'll drive them, if we can agree,
And I think their old clothes will look pretty on me.
See them bobbing,
Gee ho, Dobbin,
Gee ho, Dobbin, gee ho, gee ho!

Third Hireling.‡

I am a blade who knows the trade,
Of corridore and entry—
And though I am fat, I'll catch a rat,
Well as the worst of gentry.

A runner would you have,
I can flatter and deceive;
Command my little all, sir—
No deed so low and mean,
Little Delvin will disdain,
Although his parts are small, sir.

* Samuel Hayes, appointed a Commissioner of Stamps.
† Mr. Stephen Moore, appointed Treasurer to the Post Office, vice L. Morris, Esq. dismissed. ‡ Lord Delvin (Westmeath).

FOURTH HIRELING.*

†If you want a staunch hack, my hand you must cross,
For a tax or job, I am ne'er at a loss,
And all my tall sons, as a Tilly I'll toss,
To drain out the purse of old Ireland,
The purse of old Ireland to drain.

Make my brother Duke Munster, with Shannon's reply,
Second counsel continue to Marcus my boy—
Let my guagers all vote, and no man will enjoy,
As I shall to humble old Ireland,
To humble old Ireland as I.

Though F-st-r in public expense stands alone,
Blasts the national credit, as well as his own,
Let my custom-house vouch for my skill when I'm gone,
In wasting the wealth of old Ireland,
The wealth of old Ireland to waste.

FIRST LORD IN WAITING.‡

§Don't my peerage now delay,
Doubtful news each packet brings :
Bucks, he may be drove away—
Madness seize the best of King's.

SECOND LORD IN WAITING.‖

(*Tune*,—" Behind the Bush.")

Nor place, nor pension, is my plan,
Large sums I can afford, sir ;
But, as I'm not a gentleman,
I fain would be a Lord, sir.
Nor place, &c. (*da capo.*)

Chorus of seven expectant Lords.

(*Tune*,—" Doctor Mack.")

LORD DOUBLE GUTTER *sings.*¶

Upon which side soe'er they vote, they make on't such a pother,
I'm now for this, and now for that, and then for both together ;

* Rt. Hon. John Beresford. † Said to be written by Lady Langrishe.
‡ Lord Luke Gardner Montjoy. § Said to be written by Miss Grattan.
‖ Sir Nicholas Lawless (Lord Cloncurry.) ¶ Lord Wells.

My proxy to one side I give, on t'other vote myself, sir—
Let me alone, I believe you'll own I am a cunning elf, sir.
My brother Mun, I rest upon, 'tis he that is the foxie,
He trimm'd to make his pension out, for Fanny and Tom's doxie,
But when that—that, he could not get, he slily told his Grace, sir,
That at the board he must afford Tom, little Bushe's* place, sir.

FIFTH HIRELING.†

When first I Grattan's party joined,
I thought the King would die;
When he grew well, I chang'd my mind,
Oh! what a wretch am I.

What have I gain'd by my disgrace?
Though I was promised so;
When for my friend I sought a place,
'Twas given to my foe.

Oh! the fool; the silly fool!
Who trusts what Viceroys say;
I wish I had my vote again,
Let dad say what he may.

Enter the MARQUESS, *in a passion as usual.*

A plague of your trimmers, you make such a pother,
When once you have let'n a man have your votes;
You've always a whining for something or other,
And begging for pensions or places:
What though I thank you ne'er so fairly,
Still you keeping teazing, teazing on:
I cannot persuade you,
Till promise I've made you,
And when you have got it,
You tell me, odd rot it!
Your character's blasted, you're ruin'd, undone
And then to be sure, sir,
There is but one cure, sir,
To bribe you to bear your disgraces.

* G. P. Bushe, who was turned out of office. † Mr. Hayes.

Full chorus of all the characters of the Ball.

(*Tune*,—"Patrick's Day in the Morning.")

Here's Buckingham's health,
Let us drink it by stealth—
Lest it meet with a national scorning;
But each Irish heart,
Lays its malice apart,
On Patrick's day in the morning.

'Tis true we all groan
To get Buckingham gone,
Of his rancour and rage we've had warning;
His foes could he beat,
His friends he would cheat,
Ev'n on Patrick's day in the morning.

But now with one voice,
For our King let's rejoice,
Low men, and low politics scorning;
Loyal Ireland shall ring
With "long live our good King!"
Many Patrick's days in the morning.

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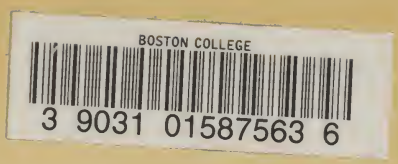

Grattan H

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